

KASHMIR UNDER MAHARAJA RANJIT SINGH



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By Charles Baron Von Hugel
Annotated By D C Sharma

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KASHMIR UNDER MAHARAJA RANJIT SINGH

ITS ARTISTIC PRODUCTS, TAXATION SYSTEM,
IMPORTS & EXPORTS, AND TRADE

By

CHARLES BARON, VON HUGEL

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WITH BIBLIOGRAPHICAL [NOTES

By

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PREFACE

Unlike other parts of India, the secluded Valley of Kashmir enjoyed a fair degree of relative peace which resulted in the growth of a mixed economy based to a large extent on handicrafts and trade. It is said that it was great Zain-Ul-Abidin who introduced the most of the industries in Kashmir in the fifteenth century. But this view has been contested by some modern scholars. Mirza Haider Dughlat who invaded Kashmir in 1530, was astonished to find many arts and crafts in the city of Srinagar. He says that "In Kashmir one meets with all those arts and crafts which are in most countries uncommon, such as stone polishing, stone cutting, bottle making, window cutting, gold beating etc."

During the Mughal and Afghan rule, the shawl industries of Kashmir were at their zenith and this factor contributed towards the growth of urban population in the valley. When Maharaja Ranjit Singh annexed the valley to his kingdom in 1819, there existed 84 varieties of crafts and trades in the city of Srinagar alone. However, due to great famine of 1833, thousands of workmen died of hunger and consequently trade and industries suffered badly. The proportion of industrial population recorded a steep fall. The flourishing shawls industries of Kashmir could not recover from the shock of this famine inspite of the best efforts made by Maharaja Ranjit Singh to put it on the sound footings.

The taxation system of Kashmir was burdensome and almost all the workers engaged in industries and agriculture were liable to certain kinds of taxes. In 1822-23, *William Moorcroft* observed that "the heaviness with which taxation in one form or another presses upon every class of the population, it is difficult to find upon what principle some branches of the shawl manufactures are so highly taxed whilst other are wholly exempted but some classes of the workmen who are nominally free from taxation are really most grievously burdened though being obliged to work for government or for

the Farmer General of Kashmir either without pay or for all-together or for one much below the value of their services". It means the taxes were imposed on various classes without any justification or consideration.

The land revenue system of Kashmir which Maharaja Ranjit Singh inherited from the Afghans was complicated and the peasants were oppressed by a chain of Kashmiri revenue officials. The land revenue was the major source of income to the Lahore Darbar. The total revenue receipts for the year 1836-37 were Rs. 14,31,823/8/-. Next to land revenue the stamp duty on shawls was the biggest source of revenue. Its average annual income fluctuated between Rs. 12,00,000/- to Rs. 9,00,000/- "Hari Singhi". The total average export trade of Kashmir during the period under study was Rs. 51,00,000/- and imports were upto the value of Rs. 6,40,000/-. It indicates that there was a net surplus of Rs. 44,80,000/- over imports. This difference was an evidence of economic potential of Kashmir. Before Maharaja Ranjit Singh took possession of the valley, her trade routes were not safe and the costly shawls were often looted enroute by the robbers. Maharaja made special arrangements to safeguard the goods of the traders with the help of Dogra Brothers. In case of any loss of goods in transit, the traders were compensated. The trade routes were made safe to the extent that highway robberies became a thing of the past and a couple of men could carry their merchandise loaded on twenty packed animals from one station to another without any risk. The longest trade route was from Lahore to Petersburg via Kashmir.

Inspite of the flourishing trade and the abundance of agricultural output, the majority of Kashmiris remained under acute poverty in this land of plenty. For this sorry state of affairs, one cannot hold Maharaja Ranjit Singh alone responsible; in fact, the Sikh Governors and the prevailing system that governed the people of Kashmir were responsible for the economic degradation of Kashmiris.

During the reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh European visitors, like, William Moorcroft, Victor Jacquemont, G.T. Vigne, Charles Hugel and Henderson came to Kashmir and made a detailed study of her people, places, agriculture, art

and industries. Some of the travel accounts are politically motivated and highly critical of Maharaja Ranjit's rule. But inspite of such shortcomings, these travel accounts are a mine of information in regard to the economic history of Kashmir. Most of these travel accounts are available in English language but still a substantial part of the Hugel's travels are not available in English language. The present study is an effort to bring to the notice of the scholars a part of Hugel's travels in English. This portion of Hugel's travel deals primarily with the economic history of Kashmir under the rule of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and as such it is the most important contemporary source material for the Sikh rule in Kashmir.

I am happy that Dr. D.C. Sharma has done valuable work by providing ample references to this work from the contemporary sources to collaborate the observations of the author and a detailed bibliography. I hope that this work will surely help the researchers and historians particularly working on the history of Kashmir under the Sikh rule and the Punjab history in general.

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Introduction

Baron Charles Von Hugel was a illustrious Austrian traveller having a scientific bent of mind. He came to India in the pursuit of knowledge specially in the field of Botanical Sciences and he also decided to visit the World famous charming Valley of Kashmir. On the recommendation of the East India Company, he got permission from Maharaja Ranjit Singh the ruler of Punjab on the 6th of October 1835 to travel through Kashmir. He was also provided with the *Parwanas* signed by Ranjit Singh and addressed to the Governors of the Provinces of the Punjab and Kashmir. The Governors were directed to take care of the safety and the welfare of this European visitor. They were also under obligation to furnish him "with bearers, beasts, provisions and infact every thing he may stand in need of".¹ This helping attitude of the Sikh ruler made the journey of Hugel safe, easy and comfortable. He often received money in the shape of *Nazrana* at various places from many officials of Sikh Government during his journey to Kashmir.

He had the reputation of a diligent and faithful observer of nature and had a keen sense of enquiry. According to him "I have endeavoured to describe the Valley of Kashmir and its inhabitants according to the best of my ability and judgment, nor have I suffered myself to be led away from this design, either by the fascination of the romantic or the love of the marvellous".² His short stay in the Valley made a very interesting enquiry of the political and economic life of the Kashmiris of the early 19th Century. During his stay in the City of Srinagar he also met M/s. G.T. Vigne and Henderson, two other European adventurers,³ who had been making enquiries about people and places of the Kashmir Valley. His travel

account was first published at Stuttgart in German language in four parts at distinct intervals from 1840-1848. Before writing his travels he took pain to consult and study all available source material on Kashmir in the Indian as well as the European languages. The first and third parts contain the entire narrative or journey which he kept in his travel. The second part of his narrative is a summary account of the ancient and history of Kashmir based on the researches of H.H. Wilson the Librarian of the East India Company, with sundry miscellaneous particulars, geographical and physical, also account of the production, resources, and inhabitants of the mountain region. The description of the Flora and Fauna of Kashmir in this part is of a high standard and also carries a minute details of botanical knowledge of various species of Kashmirian plants in general and fishes of Kashmir in particular. He has also given innumerable drawings of various kinds of fishes and plants which he studied and collected during his journey from the lakes, forests and rivers of Kashmir and took them to his native country for scientific study. The fourth part of his travel is a "sort of a glossary and gazetteer, including miscellaneous matters relating to the various political, civil and military affairs of the Government and the history of India".⁴ It also gives a biographical account of the various Rajas, Nawabs, and other contemporary Army officers not only of the Sikh Kingdom but also of the Muslim chieftains of Sindh and Afghanistan. He has also given well documented account of Dorga⁵ brothers and their role in the Lahore Durbar and ultimate fall of the Sikh Kingdom. The First and third parts were translated into English by Major T. B. Jervis on the instance of the British Government, in 1844 under the title *Kashmir and the Punjab containing a particular account of the Government, and character of the Sikhs* but second and fourth parts were not got translated either by the East India Company or by any individual scholar and remained untranslated upto this time. However, Mr. Edward Thornton,⁶ the editor of *the Gazetteer of the countries adjacent to India* . . . took extensive notes from the German language edition of the Hugel travels and utilized them in his Gazetteer which he prepared on the order of the East India Company for political purposes. A few

scholarly books on Kashmir have been written on this period but none of the authors of these books have taken pain to utilize the second and fourth part of the Hugel travels in German language in their works.

After going through the pages of this Gazetteer I got the idea that the parts of the Hugel travels which remain untranslated into English language are very important source material for writing the political and economic history, not only of Kashmir but also of the Punjab and these should be made available in English to the research scholars working on the history of Kashmir and Punjab. I made several requests to both the Embassies of German Democratic Republic and Federal Republic of Germany for making available to me the original copy of Hugel travels in German Language, but my requests were of no avail. Then I approached to the Librarian, National Library of India, Calcutta for locating the German edition of the Hugel travels. Fortunately a copy of second and fourth part of the original edition of the travels in German language was available from the National Library Calcutta. With the help of Dr. B.N. Goswamy, Reader in Physics, University of Jammu and the kind cooperation of the Indian National Scientific Documentation Centre, New Delhi, I succeeded in translating and editing a portion of the second part of the Hugel travels into English language. I have tried as far as possible to collate and supplement all the important facts and the statements of the author with the help of contemporary sources by citing in the form of comprehensive foot notes. This has been done by consulting and borrowing extensively from the works of the Scholars of the past and present. I, therefore, owe to them a deep debt of gratitude.

In some of my notes I have shown my disagreement with the important facts described by the author in his travel account and I have not hesitated to point out the wrong assertion of the author. It will not be out of place to mention that it is not possible to venture such type of work without the full knowledge of political and economic history of a concerned country and its topography. So my researches in the field of

topography and the socio-economic conditions of the Valley made this work of translation a bit easier. I have excluded in this translation the chapters on Flora and Fauna and the political history of Kashmir and confined myself to only Artistic products, the Taxation System, Import and Export, and Trade. To make it more readable, I have added in it a chapter on Banking, Currency, Weights and Measures.

I hope that this humble effort of mine will encourage the teachers, researchers and scholars of the Punjab and Kashmir history, further to investigate the economic life of the Kashmiris during the early 19th Century.

I am also grateful to my colleagues, especially Mr. Desh Bandhu and K. Suraj Singh Jamwal of the Central Library University of Jammu, for the help they have given to me for locating certain references for my foot notes.

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2. *Ibid.*, p. xiv (Introductory Chapter).
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A Short Note on the Political— Administrative History of Kashmir Under the Sikh Rule

By the early 19th century the Afghans were driven out from the Punjab and their Cis-Indus territories¹ were being encroached upon by the growing Sikh power in the Punjab. The Afghans were at run because of the dissensions in the ruling family. Maharaja Ranjeet Singh the Lion of the Punjab was eager to expand his Kingdom in North-West at their cost. He made three attempts in 1812, 1814 and 1815 to wrest Kashmir from the Afghans but badly failed in his design.² But after five years he got an opportunity, when one Birbal Dhar, a Kashmirian elite escaped from the oppression of the Afghans governor of Kashmir Azim Khan and came to Lahore. He requested Ranjeet Singh to drive away the Afghans from Kashmir to save them from their oppression. In 1819, the Sikh forces led by Missar Dewan Chand and guided by Pt. Birbal Dhar and Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu successfully invaded the valley. The Afghan forces under Azim Khan, the Afghan Governor of Kashmir could not resist the thrust of the Sikh forces and thus Kashmir came under the Sikh rule.

The conquest of Kashmir was a significant³ addition to the Sikh Kingdom as the Kashmir was the richest province of the Sikh Kingdom next only to Multan.⁴

The Sikhs ruled over the Kashmir through their governors and revenue farmers. The revenue of Kashmir was farmed out to the revenue farmers on yearly basis. In all nine governors were appointed by the Lahore Durbar between 1819-1846 and

one of them, Dewan Moti Ram had the Office of governorship twice :

1. Dewan Moti Ram (1819-1820)
2. Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa (1820-1821)
3. Dewan Moti Ram (1821-1824)
4. Dewan Chuni Lal (1824-1826)
5. Dewan Kirpa Ram (1826-1830)
6. Behma Singh Ardali (1831)
7. Sher Singh (1831-1834)
8. Mian Singh (1834-1841)
9. Sheikh Gulam Mohi-ud-Din (1841-1846)
10. Sheikh Imam-ud-Din (1846)

The administrative record of these governors is full of failings and deeds of corruption except one Mian Singh to whom the Kashmiris still remember and was one of the best governors sent by the Lahore Durbar.

Most of these governors whose average tenure of Office was about two years, were either recalled for mal-administration or were constantly grilled for non-fulfilment of their engagements. During the early Sikh rule, the revenue farmers were independent⁵ of the Governors of Kashmir and they virtually created a dual system of administration. In certain cases when they failed to remit the stipulated amount of their contracts, they were either imprisoned,⁶ degraded or had their properties attached. Charles Hugel visited the valley during the Governorship of Mian Singh when the export trade of Shawl had declined because of the effects of the great famine of 1833 in which thousands of Kashmiris either perished because of hunger or migrated to the neighbouring provinces. It was the Shawl wool goods which attracted the attention of the European nations and so they tried to profit from it through their agents.⁷

The military pre-occupation of the Sikhs during reign of Maharaja Ranjeet Singh, the political uncertainty that followed

his death and series of natural calamities created an economic chaos in the valley and no one devoted his time to the cause of the Kashmiris. The Sikh Government in Kashmir, like most other Governments of the time, was an absolute monarchy, medieval in character, concerned primarily with the problems of Law and Order. Still Kashmir was the only part of the Indian-Sub-continent, fairly advanced in the field of industry. About 37%⁸ of her population was either engaged in the various industries or was collaterally connected with these for their livelihood. Srinagar city the capital of Kashmir was the most populous city in the Sikh Kingdom next only to Lahore⁹ and was a thriving centre of industries and International trade.

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3. Chopra, G.L., *The Punjab as Sovereign State (1799-1839)*, Hoshiarpur, Vishvesh-varanad Vedic Institute, 1960, p. 16.
4. Shamat Ali, *The Sikhs and Afghans, in Connection with India and Persia Immediately Before and After the Death of Ranjeet Singh*, Patiala, Language Department, 1970 (Reprint), p. 22.
5. Moorcroft, William, *M. S. EUR D264*, p. 87, "The revenue was farmed on the present Governor Moti Ram, has no power to interfere with the arrangements of the Farmer General as far revenue is concerned."
- *Ibid.*, During the year 1819-1820 Bhir Dhar was Farmer

General who could not remit the stipulated amount of the contract for the year 1820 and he was confined in Lahore with his family. Likewise, Ram Dhar could not pay the full amount of his engagement for the year 1821. He was also put behind the bar (Hugel, Baron, Charles, *Kashmir and Punjab*, Jammu, Light and Life Pub., 1972, p. 158). Suraj Behari a revenue farmer was also degraded.

7. Mr. Moorcroft and Agha Mehdi were sent to Kashmir by the British and Russian authorities respectively to explore the possibilities to have the monopoly of Central Asian Trade.
8. This average has been arrived at by putting the entire population of the city of Srinagar under trades and industries. Even in 1881, the average of urban population in India was only 13.30 (Report of the *Census of the Punjab 1881*, Vol. II, p. 17).
9. Smyth, G.C., *A History of the Reigning Families of Lahore*, Patiala, Language Department, Punjab, 1970, appendix xxix.

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Artistic Products

Ahu and Pashmina

To this section belong especially the shawls^a for which Kashmir is famous in Europe. I believe that the history of this artistic product, which had played such an important role in Europe and still today continues to play partially, would not be uninteresting and have therefore thought it fit to summarise here all the information I could gather.

It was previously mentioned that Seynal-un-Dien¹ (Seynaluddien) one of the earlier ruler of Kashmir had himself introduced the art of weaving of shawls from the goat-hair. For this purpose he had invited from Turkey^b a skillful weaver named Nakad Begh and let him establish the first weaving school in Kashmir. The grave in which he was buried in Kashmir is decorated every year on a particular day, with

- (a) Schahl is written hitherto as shawl and thereby one believed that the Kashmir or Indian mode of writing was introduced from outside. But one has adopted here only the incorrect manner of writing English. In Kashmir this product is called Dushala, which had been changed by the English people as Schahl and they had believed that it could be written only as Shawl, owing to their deficient orthography. The word schahl is not be objected by the common man's use of it, just as the French call it Chale, we must use the word schahl here.
- (b) Under the name of Turkistan, the understanding in the Asiatic countries is the tatarei, a name which is completely unknown in the Orient. The name Tataren is probably derived from a stem word, which under the Turkmans had come to Europe, was in the vanguard and the terror which the Tatars have spread have gripped the entire populations in Europe.

flowers and a festival is celebrated. In the beginning the products were coarse and the quality of the products depended upon the softness of the material. Even up to the time of Bernier, the task of the weavers was to weave the shawl in such a way that it is soft to the touch, and extremely thin and fine.² Single fibred ones which could be passed through a ring³, were the most valued ones, and the highest price at that time did not exceed Rs. 50 and from the artistic work about which Bernier⁴ spoke, even this sum was considered to be a high price. In the last quarter of the past century, the maximal price for it did not exceed Rs. 150. It was only during the last 40 years, their prices have increased to fantastic levels. However, now it is rather the carpet that could be presented as a nice drapery piece, especially to the women. They do not cling to the body and are too heavy to be worn on the body. These thick tissues are incidentally produced only for the European and Persian market. In India nobody wears these things.

In the former times, the workers have taken a lot of trouble to spin very thin fibres, and to give a pretty distinctive border which was made up of silk. The palms were subsidiary things and were mostly simple and single coloured. Now two rows of palms were put one above the other which are surrounded by a double, sometimes wide, border, whereby for the actual shawl, I mean for the uniformly single coloured middle portion, only little space was left. Furthermore, often, against all good taste, the corners are decorated. Shawls and extraordinary patterns and colours, an imitation⁵ of the earlier Kashmir shawl are now the most sought after ones. This bad taste seems to near its end and it is time that these goddy, expensive, heavy parade-show pieces of our women folks, are replaced by something more useful ones.

The goat-wool is referred to in Kashmir as Pashminac and comes from Ladakh, from where it is brought in from a south eastern direction, probably from the high lands between Ladakh and Lasa.⁶

(c) Bernier has erred in the meaning of the word Teuz, what he called by that name is Ahu. Tuz is the bark of birch.

In an article from an Asiatic Journal that is published from Calcutta in 1836, it was stated "that the wool from Yarkand was brought to Ladakh". Though I am not able to contradict this piece of information, as I was myself not in Yarkand any-time, it would still seem as if this was not the case. I have spoken with men living in Yarkand and all the products that were brought in from there were shown to me in Kashmir. The Pashmina was neither mentioned, nor any of the several things produced there itself, used this wool as the raw material. It is not believable that such a large densely populated town full of factories, such a Yarkand, would not make use of such highly valuable article (material) there itself, when the wool-yielding goats are available in the neighbourhood. The information contained in the journal just mentioned, is the narration of several Hajis (pilgrims who have returned from Mecca) residing in Yarkand and have probably praised the important product, which is contrary to the truth.⁷ I have seen in the Himalayas a herd of wool-yielding goats actually. These came from the direction, which I have mentioned above. They are small, unimpressive animals, mostly of a light or dark grey colour. The wool grows, as is well-known, below the hairs in the same manner as the down (fluff) grows below the feathers in a Swan. The wool protects the animal from cold, just as the down feathers protect the swan also from cold. It was formerly observed that in the high altitude regions of the mountains, even dogs possess wool below their hairy coat. The same was found to be the case with other animal species also. On the other hand, the sheep lose their wool totally in hot climates. Very probably, the Pashmina goats also would lose their wool in a warmer climate. Just as I do not like to call it a lie that these goats might be belonging to a peculiar type, I believe equally little that our goats would be able to produce Pashmina if they are introduced into Tibet. I would merely like to indicate thereby that the shawl-goats of every country would not be able to produce pashmina.⁸

The finest materials are produced from the wool of Ahu (steinbock or ibex), which comes in small quantities from Iskardu, the capital of that province of Tibet, and this, in

our maps, is mentioned as small-Tibet or Balti. The major part of this costly wool is processed into the usual material of extraordinary softness, in Iskardu itself, so that only little of this raw material is exported. The natural colour of this wool is light brown. But the Kashmirians treat it in the same manner as the goat wool and they bleach it and colour it.

Every year, towards the beginning of spring time, the Tibetans shave the goats with a comb and scissors and collect the wool. This product is kept in small boxes and brought to Ladakh, from where the businessmen purchase it for the Kashmirians. At the time of its arrival the wool looks very raw and unimpressive. Only after being brought into Kashmir, it is bleached with rice-water washings or better still with the rice-gruel, and then the desired colour is given to the material. The number of colours which the Kashmirians use for colouring¹⁰ the wool varies from 2 to 40 and they claim to be able to produce 30 different materials¹¹ from pashmina. I have therefore taken some pains to collect all the materials available in Kashmir, known to be produced from pashmina. Nevertheless, I could not assemble in my collections that large number of pashmina derivatives, as mentioned by the Kashmirians. However if one takes into account the various forms of things produced from pashmina, then one finds a large variety of things made from it.

From the point of view of the form of things produced from pashmina, one may list out the following articles:

1. Tents (Dehra, Tombu or Bitschoba as they are called according to their form).
2. The Carpets, knitted or woven.
3. Duschala, shawls
4. Rumal (squarish scarfs)
5. Stockings and socks.
6. Caps and other head gears.
7. Gloves.
8. Turban-like things.

9. Materials for clothing and caps: called as Jamawar.
10. Single coloured, wide things.

The various kinds of raw materials are the following:

1. Ahu, which was mentioned previously.
2. Two-string (two-ply) pashmina. It is from this material that all the shawl and scarfs are produced and these come to Europe through Persia.
3. Single fibred (single-ply) which was previously popular variety of pashmina, which in recent times is again in great demand and this is called the Indian type.
4. Densely woven, cloth like variety.
5. Mixed type of things with $\frac{3}{4}$ ths pashmina and $\frac{1}{4}$ th cotton.
6. Mixed stuff with $\frac{1}{2}$ of pashmina and $\frac{1}{2}$ cotton.
7. Mixed varieties with $\frac{1}{4}$ th pashmina and the rest cotton.
8. Mixed varieties with only $\frac{1}{8}$ th pashmina and rest cotton.

Pashmina costs (more or less) Rs. 20 per Pound. The coloured varieties cost more by 1-4 rupees per Pound of wool, depending upon the composition of the colours. Blue (indigo) and green (vert de gris), however, are exceptions. Both these colours are called in Kashmir, "Velayti"^d, which means European or foreign colours and these coloured varieties cost as much as Rs. 20 per Pound.¹²

That a single coloured or the common type of shawl or other article would be priced according to its colour and heaviness is evident, but in the case of articles involving a lot of labour, these criteria of colour and heaviness, are however, subsidiary considerations, because the labour involved would be the main consideration.

- (d) This word in India means, an European and "Velayt" means exclusively Europe of England itself. The actual meaning of the word is foreigner. In Hindustan, a white foreigner coming from North-west, is also referred to as a European.

The preparation for the work is very prolonged and monotonous. All the shawls are produced on being commissioned. Sometimes, the shawl dealers come from India or Persia¹³ to Kashmir, camp there for 8 or 9 months or indeed even for a whole year, until of the shawls he desired to have, are completed or he had purchased all the products from the subdealers and then he would leave the place with the goods. Later on the Kashmir-born people have on their own penetrated the entire Indian subcontinent.¹⁴ Now these people have either degenerated or migrated out and the earlier system had been revived. The businessmen bring with them the raw materials into Kashmir and makes arrangements with the different chief shawl-maker supervisors, called as Dushawlwalla. These people show the businessmen the patterns, colours and sometimes a small sample piece of the finished product and makes a contract to deliver the goods ordered at a previously agreed price after an agreed time interval. He receives at the time of making the contract, 1/3rd of the agreed price as an advance payment and commences the work. It is necessary to observe certain amount of caution in such dealings especially for the unfamiliar people, so that they are not cheated. This is because, it might sometimes happen that the Dushawlwalla after a short time, might ask for more money and the businessman might find it difficult to refuse, because the completion of the work is of more value to him and if he prefers to make a complaint with the state authorities, it may lead to endless difficulties. So, in this manner, often more money is squeezed out from him, than the worth of the goods, actually contracted for.

Shawls are always dealt with in pairs, while the scarfs are quoted per single piece. The patterns according to which the work is carried out, are of variegated colours and artistic designs. It is always a single person who makes the patterns and designs, conceives and creates new ones by his own creative skill and all other duschalawalls will buy the patterns and designs from him at a price.

The price of the shawls is highly varied. The highest¹⁵ price could be as high as Rs. 3000 for a pair of shawls and Rs. 1000 per a scarf. When this amount is converted into our own

currency, each shawl works out to a price of 887½ fl. at the place of its production and the price of a scarf would come to about 591 fl. 20 kr. and this includes the excise duty levied in Kashmir state. However, this price is only nominal because the shawl, which is considered to be an expensive one costing Rs. 3000, may still be found to be cheap by others. As soon as the price for the selected pattern of the shawl to be prepared is settled, the Dushawlwalla, hires the persons who have been in his previous employment, either all of them, or as many as he needs for execution of the current contract. Each of the Dushawlwalla has under him, depending upon the size of his weaving school (unit) one or more shawl-weaving supervisors (experts). Their job is to explain by drawings and explanations on paper and by jesticulations, the manner of executing the various desired patterns to the weavers in a language that they can comprehend. Each of these shawl-experts have in their possession, some drawings, whose number might be as many as 150. They determine the colour choice of the patterns and designs and how these are to be actually used. The entire shawl design is laid out in a sketch board in this manner, and the weaver is asked to follow the drawing, mechanically without any concept as to which design is to be completed.

For the single fibred (single ply) articles, the warp is loaded, as it is customary with us in our country, and for the double-ply articles, the fibres are supplied in two numbers. For the striped articles, naturally the fibres are supplied in the corresponding colours. For the single ply articles, the weavers have a pair of shuttle (pistons) and for the 2-ply articles, they have two pairs of these things. After the fibres are got engaged in the pistons or shuttle and the comb these fibres are tied up with some stuff to the interior roller and now the work is ready to start. Each colour of the design is wound round a needle prepared from a rivet-cap wood piece and with the help of this, according to the prescribed pattern, each stitch would be made. The shuttle is not used for the shawls with designs. After a stitch with each needle stroke is made, with the comb a pair of strokes are given to draw the fibres close together and then the shuttle changes the direction and so on this process keeps

going. The finest shawl with double palms and three borders, would be completed in 7 different sections of the weaving shop and this does not include the corner designs, the sectional work would increase in proportion with the number of borders. Before the shawl is woven together, it consists of some 15 different pieces.¹⁶ The two ends with the large palms, which are the heaviest parts, are given to the most skilled and experienced workers, then there are the narrower palms and the borders, and these aspects of the work is handed over to the relatively inexperienced and raw workers. When one orders a piece for himself, one might receive a shawl which is made up of a single piece, but then these shawls which are ordered for by the customer directly are relatively simple without any great artistic design, which otherwise would have been the case. The weaving centres called the *Dukan*¹⁷, 11 of them would be involved in production of a pair of the best shawls. Two tuckams consists of each 3 workers¹⁸, for the large palms, 4 to 2 workers in the narrow palms, one to two workers for the single coloured middle piece and 4 to two weavers are employed for the border work, the last category of workers are generally small boys. For each *Dukan*, the worker should qualify himself with good knowledge of the weaving symbols, because naturally to develop the design or pattern, these steps have to be repeated and so all the weavers work in unison and the weaving master dictates the steps by speaking aloud, while he himself does the same, and the others follow him. 24 weavers work for 6 months, sometimes indeed for a whole year to produce just a pair of shawls. For the preparation of a scarf, 16 persons keep working for half the time mentioned above.

I was interested in gathering information, as to how much would be the total gain from this operation for the duschala-walla himself and I have obtained the following information after considerable trouble, and effort. The highest payment made to a good and experienced worker per day is 5 peis¹⁸, but a majority of them are paid only 3 peis and the small boys were paid 2 peis¹⁹ per day. 5 peis work to 5½ kr. If one assumes that the 24 workers engaged on the completion of a pair of shawls; receive

6 into 5 peis...	...	30
10 into 3 peis...	...	30
8 into 2 peis...	...	16 peis

So much so, all of them put together (24 of them in 3 different payment categories) earn per day 76 peis or 2 Har.²⁰ rupees 12 peis and this makes per year, taking the festival days also into account, Rs. 800. If one accounts for the value of the wool and colouring materials (dyes) and the loss through damage and the loss of several colours by one colour (super-imposed colours)—all together would make some Rs. 300/- and the maximum expense coming to Rs. 700, the allocations for the shawl master, designer and the house rent etc., coming to Rs. 200—all these taken into account, the cost of a fine pair of shawls would work out the following way:

Worker's wages for 12 months for 24 workers	...	800 rupees
Cost of raw materials (Pashmina and dyes)	...	300 „
Excise and other duties	...	700 „
Working expenses for the establishment	...	200 „
Total : Rs.		<u>2000</u>

So it comes to 2000 Hary-Singhi-rupees or 1166 fl. 40 kr. Such shawls which need 12 months for their production, are extremely rarely taken up and all the 24 workers would not be required to work all the year round, because, for example, the central piece would be completed earliest. Since the duties vary with the value of the goods (finished product), one might assume that a pair of shawls, which in Europe would be sold as the finest variety, from the point of view of the duschala-walla, would cost him as follows, item-wise split up is :

Wages for the labour force employed for 6 months ²¹	400 rupees
Raw materials like wool and colours (Pashmina and dyes)	300 „
Duties and State Levies	250 „
Establishment expenses	100 „
Total: Rupees	<u>1050</u>

Now the question is, at what price, (the cost of production for the Dushawlwalla working out to 612½ fl.) the Dushawlwalla can deliver a shawl which in Europe is excessively overestimated? According to the type (category) of the shawl, naturally, the number of persons employed in its production would vary.

The rumal, scarf, when it is made of the same raw material as the shawl, then it would be only 2/3rds the value of the shawl.

Jamawar is the name of the Kashmir shawl, which we call in Europe as the striped. These are 4 yards long, 1½ yards wide and these are things which are meant to be used as covering sheets for the winter time. An Indian, Kashmirian or an Oriental generally would be mocked at by his friends and acquaintances, when he uses a Jamawar as a shawl on his shoulder or even around his head. On the production of a Jamawar the work is completed in four pieces and the finest quality of work is carried out by 4 persons in two *Dukan* for 6 months and the cost structure would work out as follows:

Four persons paid at 4 peis per day for 180 days...	90 rupees
Raw material (Pashmina) ...	60 rupees
Duties and other state levies...	40 rupees
Establishment expenses ...	25 rupees

Total :	215 rupees

or the equivalent of 124 fl. kr. C.M.

Single coloured articles made of pashmina could be had for varied prices and these are produced in weaving centres where just one or two men are employed. But now in Kashmir only fine shawls are being produced. These are the varieties which are exported either to the adjacent Punjab²² or to the other parts of Hindustan, where they may be subjected to further finishing touches.

The number of shawl-manufacturers in Kashmir had dwindled²³ drastically. Under the Mongolian Emperor, there

were supposed to be some 40,000 *Dukan*, (weaving centres) and according to this estimate, each of the weaving centres had in its employment 3 workers on an average and as such a total number of about 120,000 weavers were estimated to be employed in this trade. Among the Afghans, there were 23,000 *Dukan* existing. At the present time, the number of these *Dukan* had shrunk to just 2000 and out of these 1000 were engaged in the production of Dushala and Rumal and about 600 were engaged in production of Jamawar and about 400 centres are engaged in the production of the single coloured shawls and other articles. It is estimated that all together, they would be able to produce in a year some 3000 shawls and scarfs and 1200 Jamawar.^e

The decline of this trade is attributable to many factors.²⁴ The first reason was the outward migration of people which had taken place over several years. In the beginning, it was only the excess of population that was increasing rapidly, that started migrating into Punjab, where in the hilly cities of Nurpur and Jammu, that remained under the rule of Hindu Prince the weavers have settled down for generations. These immigrants have found in the warm climate all the articles of daily use, like the food stuffs rather cheap and as such the smaller amounts of wages paid to them here, were sufficient to meet their living costs, although they could hardly afford to buy any clothing, or any other luxury articles. Only the exploitations by the Sikhs which was evident during the period of their ascendancy and power in the northern part of Punjab and the weaving centre owners have been so much handicapped

- (e) I believe with good reasons, that the informations mentioned above are correct. During my stay, the people have made every effort to show me in details all the places where these weaving centres are situated deep in the country side and the Mohamadans have tried to explain to me how much happier they would have been under the Afghans and the Municipal authorities have tried to convince me with data how little revenue it is able to get from the Kashmir valley. The number of 1800 was given to me as the total number of *Dukan* and I therefore believe that the number mentioned as 2000 is more or less correct and I have hardly any reason to think that this number is too small.

in their weaving operations. As such, even at that time, a great majority of the weavers have migrated out from Kashmir. The great famine²⁵ conditions and starvation three years earlier, have forced a considerable number of people to move out of the valley and the greater security of their possessions and property in Punjab has also facilitated this outward migration. The starvation and cholera that was rampant at that time, were believed to have forced about 13,000 weavers to migrate out from their homes.

The distress and misery experienced by the population during the years 1833 and 1834, must not be forgotten by the current generation of people living there. None of the people who migrated out from there, wants to return to the same place. Sher Singh²⁶ had given this trade the last blow. He had squeezed out 12 lacs of rupees from the shawl sub-dealers, so as to be able to send, as already stated, 16 lacs of rupees to Lahore. By this squeeze, he had forfeited to the sub-dealers the possibility of advancing some funds for the production of shawls. Moreover, he had intimated them to reveal all their possessions. Then he had sent another Sher Singh²⁷ to extract from them whatever remnants of money they possessed. Ranjit Singh had sent Mehan²⁸ Singh to Kashmir with the task of preventing this outward migration of people from Kashmir. This man understood the order of his master to mean only deployment of his troops at the border towns with orders to push back every person trying to migrate out from the state. This sort of behaviour did not serve well at all to restore the confidence of the people in the Government, once it is lost.

Nurpur, at this moment of time, had perhaps about 1000 shawl weavers. Jammu also had nearly as many. In Amritsar, Ludhiana, Simla and in Delhi itself, there are several factories for shawl production. But even today what is produced as Kashmir shawl is still a very distinctive stuff, because it cannot be produced anywhere else in such a beautiful and artistic fashion as in the Kashmir valley. Even at the time of Bernier, an attempt was made to establish a large shawl-weaving factories in Patna²⁹ and several individual units did exist in Punjab. But none of these units could develop itself

into a large factory that could produce materials of any comparable quality with those produced in Kashmir. Yet another reason for the decline of this trade, was the change in customs and user's habits in Hindustan. One might still consider India as a country in which the Hindu civilization is retained just in the same manner, as it existed since the time of Alexander the Great. Just as the mentality of the individuals undergoes a change, the way of thinking of a population also undergoes a change and comparatively speaking, it may change here and there more or less. In earlier times, the habit of people receiving and giving presents was an endless process. Every audience used to honour every great man with the presentation of a shawl (Khilat). This presentation and honouring was manifest mostly in the form of giving the learned scholar a pair of shawls. When a person of lower status makes a visit to a person of higher social status, then also a pair of shawls are brought and presented as a *nuzzur*, and the greater the status of the recipient, the more beautiful is necessarily the appearance of the present. This custom in the social habits of India had undergone a fast decline. The Government has issued orders to all its civil and military officers not to accept presents and only in Punjab, this custom is still retained generally. That this change of customs has had its effect upon the demand on the shawl trade, hardly needs to be emphasised.

The last reason for the decline of this shawl trade may also be the decline in the taste of people in Europe and craze for Kashmir shawls. Furthermore the demand for the shawls showed a relative drop in the impoverished Turkish and Persian kingdoms and lastly the aboriginals of India have begun to prefer the machine-made English shawls to those made in the weaving establishments in Kashmir.

The reason why the best and most beautiful shawls could be produced only in Kashmir, is, so far, an inexplicable mystery. It is the same people who spin the same wool, the same colouring materials are employed and the same patterns are copied and nevertheless if one places a shawl produced in Nurpur or Ludhiana, side by side with the one produced in Kashmir, then one finds the former to be very coarse and old. Just as the

glossy appearance of the silken products manufactured in Lyon was attributed to the water of the region, there may be something very special about the Kashmir shawls.³⁰ Presumably the heat and dust in India might be contributing to make the colours of shawls produced outside Kashmir, appear dull and lose their freshness.

When the individual pieces are knitted together into the shawl, which is indeed the most difficult part of the whole work, and when the stuff is completed, it is subjected to a process of washing.³¹ This is performed in the Jhelum river water, within large stone-made washing vessels. Two or three washermen work at the same vessel. They place the material to be washed in a vessel and pour water over it. Then they themselves stand in the vessel (tub) and hold one end of the shawl in the hands and the other end is kept under the feet and thoroughly trampled upon repeatedly and squeezed between the legs and this operation is repeated several times, pouring every time fresh water and when the squeezed out water discharged from the shawl is clear and no further discharge of dust is visible, then a very small amount of gum-solution is added to the water in the tub so that the shawl is completely soaked in it and then it is dried and the pieces are put together. After this process, the Government is shown the material as a finished product. Then the Government puts its stamp of the size of a hand and for this a tax had to be paid and the amount of tax³² varies from 1/7th to 1/5th of the estimated value of the material. The most expensive shawl has relatively and truly the highest stamp duty which could be 600 rupees. The city municipality officials would then receive, on the same basis a present for each piece and this tip consists of approximately 10% of the tax money levied and likewise the workers are given a tip. Now the product is folded and during the day time, it is kept for pressing under heavy weight. This last process of pressing is also very important because a great part of the beautiful appearance of the tissue depends upon this process. Indeed some of the shawl dealers send their products to Amritsar for this process of pressing.³³ Now the whole thing is ready for despatch after packing in a paper, then wrapped in a cotton cloth piece and finally in a duster type of packing cloth.

Even with all the elaborate process explained above, the finality is still not achieved, insofar as the price is concerned. As soon as the shawl dealer and a common passenger carrying this material reaches the border check post, he must pay there a large or small amount of money for the shawl or any other material he is carrying, which is completely unspecified amount and is settled after a great deal of haggling. In this manner everybody exploits these dealers to the best of his ability, whether he is actually concerned in the matter or not. Fortunately, Ranjeet Singh had put a majority of these small Princes to supervise this handicraft trade, and only Gulab Singh had been given the right in Berhamgalla,³⁴ which belongs to Jammu, to demand the presentations. The other Rajas have had always the power, though not the right, to detain the travellers and harass them. The travellers used to prefer paying something and get rid of these, so that they could proceed further with their journey, rather than lose time in trying to argue and contest the demands for tips from these tyrannical people. From Atok, through the Baramula³⁵ pass, which otherwise is the large trade route to Persia, no shawl would be allowed to pass. This is because of the fact that there is still the prevalence of the old state of affairs, wherein every small Raja threatens to confiscate the property of the business people. But now these trade articles take a long route through either Bombay or Calcutta to reach Persia and Europe by the sea route. The import duty on these articles collected at the British-Indian border customs check-post at Sutlej, is extremely small but in contrast to this, the octroi duty levied at Calcutta port is very heavy. This octroi duty is up to this day being levied in every city under the British Government and the same is also levied at every border town.³⁶ Most probably, now the customs duty levied at the Sutlej would be increased, in order to rid the shawl manufacturers of the botheration of having to pay duty at the point of entry into every city and a comprehensive legislation may replace the existing meaningless and harassing laws.

After a wash of an old shawl, the stamp would be put on it a new, without payment of any duty. To carry any unstamped

shawl, no matter whether it is old or new, would attract a heavy penalty in terms of money.

Carpets³⁷ and tents are prepared in Kashmir from Pashmina. These carpets are not entirely like our carpets or like the carpets with designs worked out in the centre and at the corners in different colour patterns, but these are of a uniform colour. They have a border and embroidered rosettes. These are not suitable for European market, because these are made from the thin materials which are also used for making the shawls. So these would be ruined in no time, if we step on them with our footwear and the beautiful parts of the carpets would lose their lustre within a short time. The European-ways of moving around on the carpets, however light and careful these movements might be made, would still be harmful for the durability of the carpet, because of the fine materials used for their manufacture. But for a population for whom a stationary peaceful life is the greatest part of their enjoyment and this sort of attitude arises from their belief in the philosophy which says : "Walking is better than running

Standing is better than walking

Sitting is better than standing

To lie down is better than sitting

Sleeping is better than lying down

A little peaceful life is the best of all"

and for a population wherein the women in "Jenana"³⁸ (masking) are permitted to move about only in the bath room and rest on luxurious cushions and pillows all the time where they sleep and never leave their chamber and for a population wherein even the men folks move about only when he is compelled to do so and no one is brought up so badly as to step upon a carpet except with bare feet—in all such instances the spun tisse of such delicate nature might serve quite a long time as a floor carpet.

Extremely pretty small sized carpets are produced in Kashmir out of pashmina and with a silken ornamental embroidery work over it. This mode of ornamental embroidery work is carried out also upon the shawls and scarfs. Some of this embroidery

work is carried out with Zari (gold zari) and coloured silk threads and some pieces are worked entirely with gold zari only. The latter type of work is more in vogue in the scarfs produced in Delhi and whole shawls with this gold zari embroidery work are produced in Dacca in Bengal.

The tents³⁹ produced in Kashmir are very expensive. These shamianas are sent by every municipal commissioner of each town, as presents to Ranjeet Singh and while doing so each one of them makes a deliberate attempt to excel in granduer of the gift made by his predecessor. All these shamianas are products of Kashmir and these are embroidered with gold zari or silver zari. Without the embroidery work, they look hardly pretty.

Almost all the products manufactured in Kashmir, with the exception of the ones intended for despatch to Tibet and some of the most expensive shawls which are intended for sending to Russia, are sent to Hindustan from where they are exported to other destinations. A heavy, dazzlingly bright embroidered shawl is called in Kashmir as the Russian style (Urussa) and the inhabitants of Kashmir do not have much liking for that sort of shawl and they produce them merely for export to Russia. In order to wear such shawls, one should have an odd taste that attracts mocking by others and indeed they are so heavy that one would need a coolie to carry them around. A shawl of this kind is stiff and inflexible and the cold wind penetrates inside from all sides ; in other words it does not stick to the contours of the body. All the rich Kashmirians when it is cold, prefer to wear two single coloured thin shawls joined with one another in such a manner that they extend together lengthwise without getting separated from one another. This is certainly a very practical way of obtaining protection against the biting cold.

Some years ago, a Russian shawl dealer came to Kashmir. But this happens very rarely. Mostly, the shawls intended for export to Russia are despatched there via Kabul and Herat.

Ranjeet Singh has devoted more attention to look into the problems of the shawl-making industry and promote this trade,

than did the foreign powers.⁴⁰ His subordinate, Gulab Singh, the Rajah of Jammu had sent his General Zorawar⁴¹ Singh to Ladakh and occupied this region in 1835. He had asked him to persuade the people of this region, where the expensive and valuable raw material required for the shawl industry is produced, to develop close relations with his Government. These raw materials are brought in large amounts from Tibet into the Himalayan town known as Rampur, where every year during autumn, a 14-day long seasonal market (fair) for sale of wool is held. By occupation of Ladakh, Ranjeet Singh hope to compel these traders to pass through his territory so that he could block its further passage into Hindustan, so that the material would be processed only within his territory exclusively. Hitherto; it was considered as material in transit through the territory of Ranjeet Singh and was being subjected to a taxation of Rs. 12/-⁴² per maund, which is indeed considered as a very insignificant duty on an article which is worth Rs. 600/-. Recently, the duty was raised by Rs. 4/- so that the pashmina dealers would be forced to come to Kashmir, instead of going through Dankar, Mandi and Amritsar. This general rule was formulated with good intentions, but it is not sufficiently rigidly applied to be useful, so that the people of the poverty-stricken valley had apprehensions that the firm grip of the Sikhs over Ladakh would extend also to the trade in this fine material, resulting in the pashmina being brought into Kashmir over such long distances and in such a circuitous route. When once the Pashmina traders have seen and convinced themselves about the conditions in the annual (seasonal) market in Rampur and felt that by extending the English occupation up to the borders of Tibet, their merchandise could be easily brought into Hindustan by a shorter route without involving any risk while passing through the Himalayas and this would avoid the merchandise having to pass through the territories of so many other subordinate Kingdoms and as this tendency went on for some time, Ladakh had ceased to be the customary place of origin for the raw wool requirement of the Kashmir Shawl industry and when once the product had found its way into India, then there was no need at all to take these raw materials through the earlier⁴³ route.

How very important it would be if pashmina would be produced in Yarkand is obvious, because then by no other way, it could reach Hindustan, except through Kashmir, either by way of Ladakh or through the shorter route by way of Iskardu. If this were however to be the case, though I do not believe it, then it should be rather astonishing how the Russian officers at the southern borders of its Asiatic territories, would have no information at all about such an important product. Hence in all probability, they would have made every attempt to produce such a valuable material within their own territory also. I would not have considered it worthwhile to return to this subject relating to the often repeated remark, had it not been for the fact that it was published in such a distinguished journal, whose publisher is my friend James Prinsep who is gifted with an excellent analytical mind and when the article itself was not forwarded for publication by Mr. Walthen, the First Secretary to the Government of Bombay Presidency, after a mature and thorough consideration.⁴⁴

The point of time, when this happened, was not perhaps so far away from the 500 years of Mohammadan rule in Kashmir had terminated. Synchronising more or less with this event, the various products which originated in Kashmir, and which had contributed to the fame and wealth of Kashmir, are no longer produced there. The trade campaign which the rich Indians have wrested from the hands of the Mohammadans and the solitary and hereditary profession of the poor people inhabiting the far-off Kashmir valley, had been taken away from their hands. Possibly it was an important political decision of the British rulers to occupy and keep under their control these forward border posts in Central⁴⁵ Asia.

2. Sheep wool material is processed only on a limited scale in Kashmir.⁴⁶ This consisted of only white or black bed sheets and a type of coarse towel-like stuff which is used as winter clothing of the lower class of people. This is white in colour. This material is also coloured and used as small-sized carpets and these are indeed to be considered as true master pieces of the tailoring art. Also overcoats made out of the finest drapery material, varigated colours bordered with silk are worn by

people. This material which is also manufactured in Punjab and Hindustan and even in Tibet, is not an export product.

3. Cotton materials⁴⁷ (products) for summer ware are also produced essentially for the needs of local population, but these were produced on a limited scale. Often these material are mixed stuff, cotton being mixed with various other art-silk and other similar materials.

4. Silk is not processed into any finished products.⁴⁸ Sometimes, scarfs may be produced out of it. But this is done rather rarely.

5. The weapon-making smitheries of Kashmir are some of the other things for which Kashmir is famous. Since the time of Ranjeet Singh, who had occupied this part of the subcontinent, his troops in muskets were armed with the weapons manufactured by the factories located in Lahore. The troops had practically little use for these weapons. In earlier times, each soldier was provided with a weapon.⁴⁹

6. The paper produced in Kashmir is famous in the whole of India. It is produced from cotton fibres and in general, is extraordinarily white and satin-like (glossy). The finest varieties⁵⁰ are embroidered with gold-coloured flowers and other designs. But this does not count as a regular industry and does not yield any tax income to the state.

7. Lac products are likewise produced in Kashmir. In the whole of India, these lac products made in Kashmir are very much sought after, because of their superb quality. No better lac articles are ever produced elsewhere. The lac raw material for this, which is obtained from the wax glands' secretion of an insect (plant bug), which does not occur in Kashmir, comes from India and is known by the name of shellac. Chairs, bedside tables, writing⁵¹ desks and other similar items are made of wood and are coated with lac and varnish. Indeed sometimes the whole room or individual parts of the same may be given the lac painting. Lac painted products are exported in large quantities.

8. The stone-workers of Kashmir work with vellor (rock crystals) Iskardu's, to make out of it flower vases, cups and plates and the same is the case with Sank Essm (Calcedon) which is highly valued in China and is found in Iskardu in white and green colours. Vellor pieces of huge sizes occur in inexhaustible amounts in Kashmir. I myself saw a rock crystal mass of such a fantastic size that it needed 4 persons to carry it. It could possibly weigh several hundreds of kilogramms. I have seen the various articles produced in Kashmir out of this rock (stone). In Lahore, for these items of work, one would have to pay Rs. 800/-. These are regularly exported in their purest quality. The European manufacture of these articles has very much declined in recent times. The inhabitants of the Kashmir valley are too poor to buy such decorative pieces of art or even to get them produced for speculative marketing. There is also no longer any Durbar of the new ruler which could have contributed to the rise in value of these luxury articles. Money is all that Ranjeet Singh used to demand. It is only to collect money that the city fathers (municipal councillors) and other officers came to Kashmir. No Sikh ever bothered to think of the works of art.⁵²

When I needed the services of stone workers to get an inscription⁵³ done in the stone in Kashmir and searched the whole of Kashmir, I could just find at least two of them.

9. How come that the dearest daughter of the plant kingdom has not been thought of by me, especially as it manifests itself in the purest garment of nature and in gorgeous beauty of colours and despite my recent discoveries of various other beautiful things in Kashmir—nothing is to match the flowers of Kashmir, especially the roses. It is indeed a great error on my part to have forgotten so far the mention of the roses of Kashmir. The colour of Kashmir roses is much more beautiful and their fragrance is much more pleasant than the roses produced anywhere else in the whole world. The roses occupy a pride of position in every garden of the valley and this they do with a lot of justification. Every place is literally covered with these beautiful roses. The species to which these roses belong is *Rosa biflora* which occurs in three specially beautiful

varieties. Out of these roses, the best rose-water⁵⁴ in the world is produced. Also the highly valued perfume (attar) and rose oil⁵⁵ is produced. Both these products used to constitute trade items formerly, but at the present time, these are produced only for the limited purpose of presentation to the over lords of Kashmir. Since the method of their production in Kashmir have certain characteristic features it is appropriate that we devote some space here to describe it briefly.

For the manufacture of rose-water, 15 pounds of rose petals are placed within a metal retort, after the rose petals are carefully removed from the flowers and the sepals and reproductive organs (stamens and stigma) are weeded out and thrown. The petals in the report are pressed in and cold water is poured over it. The retort is then closed and the entire mass is subjected to distillation. The entire water is redistilled for a second time, and even a third time, so that the dilute watery extract of rose petals is evaporated and a concentrated rose water is obtained.

In order to prepare attar (perfume) from roses, the same rose water is boiled and the residual part is placed in a large vessel and during the nights is kept open in cold circulating water. The next morning, certain fine particles, practically invisible to the naked eye, make their appearance over the vessel. The harvesting of these rose-oil atoms (particles) is done by means of a leaf of a sword-grass⁵⁶ in the following manner : One bends this leaf in the middle into a U-shaped blade and collects all these particles of rose oil scattered all over the surface of the water in the vessel, into a large droplet and manipulated in such a way that the droplet is mounted on the inner side of the leaf and with the help of a finger tip, these are emptied into a vial meant for the purpose. Three Kharwars of rose petals, which is equivalent to 480 Pounds of petals, would yield 1 ounce of attar (perfume). This rose oil is so hard like a resin and only the temperature of boiling water makes it fluid again. It is of dark green colour and its smell is the most delicate and fantastic rose-like fragrance that I have ever experienced. Some such thing is known to us in Europe, as the so-called Persian rose-oil, which is prepared in quite a different

manner from what I have described above. Kashmir Attar (perfume) is not a marketable (trade) product. But rose water is available in the bazar at the rate of a Re. 1/- per Pound, but this is not the first class product. Really pure rose water could be obtained privately from individuals who know how to make this product at their own homes.

There are also other beautifully smelling oils (essences) prepared in Kashmir. Among these the one that is highly valued by the residents of Kashmir is what they call the Bedie⁵⁷ Musk. This oil is prepared from a particular type of flower, which I did not have a chance to see for myself and from a description of the flower I could not make any mental picture as to what it really looks like.

10. Glass : This is one of the manufactured products, which was introduced by the first Mohammadan king. In the whole of India, Kashmir was famous for a long time, because of these glass products. Under the Mongolian Emperors, it was produced for the first time in Delhi and at the present time, much better glass products could be obtained in Delhi than what we get in Kashmir. Small mirrors,⁵⁸ and especially flasks made of opal-like glass, however, are still produced in Kashmir in considerable quantities. For windows, they use marian glass which comes from Purar (in Hindustan). Mirrors are also manufactured and these are 8 Zoll (?) long and 5 Zoll (?) wide.

11. Wine⁵⁹ : This actually belongs to the category of natural products. In Kashmir it is a sort of an artificial product and among all the industrial products of Kashmir, occupies the last place. It is a sort of burnt wine, which is prepared by burning the grapes and it is indeed prepared in such a bad way, that the whole process is very faulty and the burnt (malt) wine would constitute only a part of the stuff. Nevertheless, the high class people, the elite of the Valley, Officials, municipal councillors and Mehan Singh seem to like this sort of wine called "sharab". Incidentally it has no export potential and is also not an excise duty yielding product for the state revenues.

REFERENCES

1. The author has here referred to the great liberal King Zain-ul-Abidin. It is said that Taimoor took young Zain-ul-Abidin as a host to Samarkand which was then a great center of arts and industries. He was released after death of Taimoor in 1405 A.D. and he came back to Kashmir to be the King. From Samarkand he brought many artisans and craftsman and encouraged to start various industries and trades. They were given incentives in the form of land grants and cash stipends. Thus during his regime, Srinagar became a thriving center of trade and industries (*Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, tr., into English by E. Denison Ross with introduction by N. Elias, Patna Academic 1973, pp. 3-5). But according to Ragunath Singh, the ed. of *Jona-Raja Rajtrangni*, the story that Taimoor took Zain-ul-Abidin as a host to Samarkand is baseless as Jonaraja who was contemporary of Zain-ul-Abidin does not refer to this episode (*Jonaraja-Krit Rajtrangni*, p. 338 footnote).
2. Akbar the great named the fine quality of shawl as "Param Naram" means a feather touch.
3. Those shawls which could passed through wedding ring were called ring shawls. This process has been fully illustrated in the Barker, A.F., *A Report on the Cottage Textile Industries of Kashmir and their Prospective Development*, Leeds, University of Leeds, 1933, p. 69.
4. Bernier, Francis, *Travels in Mogul Empire*, London William Pickering, 1826, Vol. II, p. 143, "The touz shawls are much more esteemed than those made with the native wool. I have seen some made purposely for the *Omrahs*, which cost one hundred and fifty rupees, but I cannot learn that the others have ever sold for more than fifty". So it means, the cost of a piece of shawl was not only Rs. fifty but more than fifty.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 143, "Great pains have taken to manufacture similar shawls in Patna, Agra and Lahore, but notwith-

standing every possible care, they never have the delicate texture and softness of the Kashmiri Shawls whose unrivalled excellence may be owing to certain properties in the water of that country. Keeping in view the high demand of Kashmiri Shawls in Europe and their high prices soon led to the manufacture of their imitations. This become possible with the help of Jacquard contraption; a system of coding on hole-punched paper rolls, the fore-runner of the modern computer technique. With this technique the production of cheap Shawls from Australian and Persian wool was started at Lynes (France) and Paisley. (Irwin John : *Shawls for well Draped Ladies*, Hemisphere, Vol. 19, No. 11, pp. 8-15). This resulted a decline in the export of shawls from Kashmir to Europe.

6. Moorcroft William, *Travels*, part II, pp. 190-91 and 207. The shawl wool was collected by the Arguns, Ladakhi and Kashmiri traders from Tibet, Ladakh and Central Asia by making advance payment to religious and semi-Government officials. The trade of shawl wool was regulated under the treaty which was concluded between Tibetans and the Mughals after the Ladakhi Mughal war of 1681-83. Any attempt to send it to other countries was punished. Perhaps this factor of the export of Shawl wool to Kashmir was not known to Hugel (Sharma, D.C., *Socio-Economic History of Kashmir*, op. cit., p. 168).
7. It is fact, that certain quantity of inferior wool was also exported to Ladakh from the neighbouring territory of Yarkand to meet the growing demand of the Shawl manufacturers of Kashmir. But its quantity was negible. Prior to 1800 most of the shawl wool was imported from Ladakh and Western Tibet but after the epidemic among shawl goats, it was also imported from Yarkand and Khutan (Moorcroft, William, *MS FUR D 264*, pp. 30-31).
8. In 1812, the British Government tried to import some

goats from Western Tibet to England and getting them introduced there for shawl wool. But this experiment failed because some of the goats died in the way and out of fifty only four reached Scotland. But unfortunately these also could not survive there and the experiment of cross breeding of these goats with those of the British goats failed miserably. (Irwin John : *Shawls*, p. 27).

9. The whole trade of Pashmina wool of Ladakh was in the hand of Kashmiri Muslims traders who used to forward the raw material to Srinagar through their Agents (Moorcroft, William : *MS DUR D 264*, p. 20, *Tarikh-i-Kalan*, f. 77).
10. Here the information of the author is not correct. The Kashmiri dyers were capable of giving 300 varieties of tints but these were reduced to 74 during 1822-23 (Moorcroft, William : *MS EUR D 264*, p. 30). There is every possibility that after the famine of 1835 this number might have been further reduced because of the death and migration of competent dyers. For the illustration of the Kashmiri dyers at work see *Various Trades of Kashmir* Add. Or. 1735.
11. Moorcraft who visited the valley in 1822-23 has given a list of 86 different materials (goods) produced from Pashmina. For details see Moorcroft, William : *MS EUR 113, D, 264 and 265* and also Irwin John, *Shawls* appendix 1 to 37.
12. Most of the dyes required for shawl industries were imported except yellow and black one. The former was produced from Carthamus and saffron and the later was made from iron fillings (Sharma, D. C., *Socio-Economic History of Kashmir*, Thesis Jammu University, p. 233).
13. Not only the traders used to come to Kashmir from India and Persia but also the traders from Persia had their colony in the city of Srinagar. They were all

Shias dealing in shawls and numbered about 200 to 300. They left Srinagar in 1830 during Shia Sunnis riots in panic and never returned (Vigne, G. T. : *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 85 and Vol. I, p. 492).

14. The Kashmiris traders were not only penetrated in the entire Indian sub-continent but also in Sinkiang, Afghanistan Tibet and Western China (Sharma, D.C. : *A Socio-Economic History of Kashmir*, op. cit., p. 34). They were nick named as Jews in Europe as the Armanians were in the Turkish Empire. (Markham, C.R. ed. : *Naratives of Mission of George Bogle to Tibet and of the Journey of Thomas Manning to Lahasa*, p. 124).
15. The highest price of a pair of shawls varied from two thousand rupees to three thousand rupees during the Governorship of Mian Singh (*Tarikh-i-Kalan*, f. 90-92 also Moorcroft, William, *MS EUR D 264*, p. 65).
16. This technique was invented to meet the urgent demand of foreign merchants who wanted the shawls to be manufactured within a short notice (Sharma, D.C. : *A Socio-Economic History of Kashmir*, op. cit., p. 202).
17. *Dukan* means a loom. On an average $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 weavers were counted in one loom and in one large room about 50 weavers used to work together (Moorcroft William, : *MS EUR, D. 264*, p. 50).
18. Workers means shawl weavers including minor boys under training.
- 18a. The daily average earnings of a weaver during the early Sikh rule were fixed uniformly at one anna, while boy shawl weavers were paid only 1 paisa per day, but their wages were further increased by the last Sikh Governor Sheikh Uman-Ud-Din to two annas a day in 1845. By the end of Sikh rule their earning were six anna a day (Ganeshi Lal : *Siyahat-i-Kashmir*, p. 33, Dewan Kishan Lal : *An Account of Kashmir* F.S.C. 1848 No. 67, *Tarikh-i-Hassan* Vol. I, p. 362).

19. Peis means Paisa. Like other rupees which were in circulation in the valley, Hari Singhi Rupaiya was divided into 16 annas and the anna into two tungas or four paises. The paisa was further divided into 3 pais. But in certain cases the wages were generally paid in grain rather in cash.
20. During the visit of the author, Sicca rupee, the Nanak Shahi Rupaiya and Hari Singhi Rupaiya were in circulation in Kashmir. Ten or eleven annas of Nanak Shahi Rupaiya were equal to one Hari Singhi Rupaiya (Sharma, D.C., *A Socio-Economic History of Kashmir*, op. cit., p. 278). But its price was further lowered by Governor Mian Singh to boost the export trade in 1836 (*Abstract of Intelligence from Kashmir* dated 13th of August 1836).
21. William Moorcroft had studied the Kashmir shawl industries in detail. He has given a slight variation in the item-wise split up of expenditure to be incurred in producing the shawls for sale. To understand the process of manufacturing shawls and to what extent and how much amount was shared by the various persons involved in its process, is given below :

Mohamad Joo sold a pair of shawls at the price of Rs. 850. His account for the manufacturing of a pair of shawls stands as under :

A supply of 150 Kharwar of paddy was made to him from time to time @ Rs. 3/2 per ass load and small pulse @ Rs. 5/- per ass load. The amount comes to :

Paddy	=Rs. 469
Pulse	=Rs. 75
Stamp duty	=Rs. 230
Balance to be paid at another time	=Rs. 76

Rs. 850

Mohamad Joo in accounts with himself in adjustment of profit and loss :

The selling price of paddy in open market was

Rs. 2/8/- per ass load =Rs. 375

The rate of pulse was Rs. 4/-

per aas load =Rs. 60

Rs. 435

The loss incurred by him = Rs. 469 + Rs. 75

=Rs. 544—435=Rs. 109.

Thus Mohamad Joo received nominally Rs. 850/- reduced by stamp duty and losses on resale as under :

1. Stamp duty =Rs. 230/-

2. Loss of resale =Rs. 109/-

3. Advance of
material =Rs. 170/-

=Rs. 509/-

Thus the remaining balance = Rs. 850—509 = Rs. 341.

The balance of 341 is left with him to pay the wages of the forty shawls weavers for about 4½ months, his own profit and many other artists including house rent. (Moorcroft, William : MS EUR D 264, pp. 182-83).

It may stated here that shawl weavers were bound to accept paddy (rice) at higher rate than the market rate. Thus Government was also getting profit out of this method.

22. Amritsar was the biggest market of Kashmiri shawls from where the shawls were despatched to other places in British India and even abroad.

23. The figures given by the author in regard to total *Dukans* (looms) are over estimated. It is on record that the process of dwindling the number of shalw

looms remain continued even during the Sikh rule as the following statistics show :

S. No.	Year	No. of loom	No. of weavers	Remarks
1.	1800 A.D.	18,000	54,000	3 weavers have been taken per loom.
2.	1809 A.D.	16,000	48,000	
3.	1813 A.D.	24,000	72,000	
4.	1819 A.D.	18,000	54,000	2½ weavers have been taken per loom
5.	1823 A.D.	8,000	24,000	
6.	1834 A.D.	2,000	6,000	
7.	1838 A.D.	6,000	18,000	
8.	1846 A.D.	7,000	17,000	
9.	1847 A.D.	6,000	15,000	

(Sharma, D.C. : *Socio-Economic History of Kashmir*, op. cit. p. 212).

The reason for the decline of the shawl wool industries was due to many factors. The natural calamities, such as famines and cholera, the price rise of the shawl wool, its diversion to Jammu by Raja Gulab Singh and to the British territories by East India Company, the instigation to shawl weavers to migrate to British India and to the Punjab led to its decline. The ban on import of shawl goods by Persia and Turkey, the imitation of Kashmiri shawls at Paisely and Lynos and imposition of British tariff on shawls, the fall of Marhatta power in India, the hostilities between the Lahore Durbar and the rulers of Afghanistan also contributed to its ruin (Mukerjee, Radhakamal : *The Economic History of India*, p. 192, Singh, B.P., *The Economic History of India*, p. 296, Moorcroft, William : *MS EUR D. 264*, p. 87 and Dewan Krishan Lal : *A Short Account of Kashmir*, op. cit. No. 67).

25. The devastating earth-quake of 1828 followed by epidemic of cholera and the famine of 1835 reduced the population of the valley from 800,000 to 200,000 in the year 1835. Among the dead, there were 13,000 shawl weavers (Vigne, G.T., *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 257, Thornton, Edward : *Gazetteer*, Vol. I, p. 363, *Tarikh-i-Hassan*, Vol. I, pp. 462-63, Kachru Birbal : *MS Majmauah-i-Twarikh*, ff. 257-58).
26. Sher Singh was the Governor of Kashmir (1831-1834). He was the son of Ranjeet Singh. He with the help of one Wasakha Singh extorted Rs. 7,26,000 and other costly articles from many Kardars and Traders both Hindus and Muslim without assigning any reasons, the detail of which is as under :

	Rs.
1. Pandit Suraj Bhan	= 1,90,000
2. Munshi Talok Chand	= 75,000
3. Himat Pandit Fotedar	= 25,000
4. Pandit Kaul (Kanwal Bhan)	= 35,000
5. Shanker Pandit Kotru	= 15,000
6. Sheikh Jala-ud-Din Resident Dagshal	= 75,000
7. <i>Dawa-Faroshan</i> (Chemists)	= 50,000
8. Pandit Chander Bhat (Keeper of record Dagshal)	= 25,000
9. Qanungos of Parganas	= 56,000
10. Kardars of Kanwar Sher Singh	= 85,000
11. Kardars in General	= 95,000
	<hr/>
	7,26,000

(*Umdet-ut Twarikh*, Vol. III, p. 66).

27. Hugel is mistaken here as there was no another Sher Singh which was sent to Kashmir to extract from them whatever remanants of money they possessed. Only Wasakha Singh a revenue expert and confident man of the Lahore Durbar was sent to help Sher Singh to get recovery of the amount ordered by Ranjeet Singh. So it appears that in place of another Sher Singh, there should be Wasakha Singh.

28. Mian Singh was the Governor of Kashmir (1835-41) who replaced Sher Singh, was the best of all the Sikh Governors of Kashmir. He brought the valley out of the chaos of famine by bringing grain and fowls from the Punjab. He organised land revenue system by ordering new land settlement. He improved the lot of Kashmiris by taking many other positive steps but his life was cut short by an army revolt in 1841. After his death Kashmiris exclaimed with sorrow "Kutgau Mian Singh" which means where has gone Mian Singh.

(*Umdat-ut-Twarikh*, Vol. III p. 166, *Tarikh Kalan*, MS op. cit. ff 2-4).

29. Mir Izzat Ullaha was a member of a Kashmiri Merchant House with its headquarter at Patna. It appears that either he or his father had started shawl weaving factories in Patna. He was sent to the Central Asia on a probing mission preceding William Moorcroft by the British Government. (Datta, C.L. : *Ladakh and Western Himalayan Politics*, p. 94, Mir Izzat Ullaha : *Travels in Central Asia, Calcutta 1872*).

30. The softness and glossy appearance of Kashmiri shawls were attributed to the best quality of shawls wool and the water of Dal Lake at a place named Gagribal where the shawls were washed. (Moorcroft, William : *MS EUR D. 264, Tarikh-i-Kalan* f. 138 Vigne, G.T. : *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 129).

31. The process of washing has also been stated by Moorcroft with illustration depicting all the required

ARTISTIC PRODUCTS

instruments and material involved in this process.
(*Various Trades of Kashmir MS No. 1728 and 1737*).

32. The duty charged on shawls by the Government was known as stamp duty and was a biggest source of income to the State, next only to land revenue. It was charged on shawls when these were taken out of the loom. The annual stamp duty for the various years stood as under :

Sl. No.	Year	Amount
1.	1818 A.D.	= Rs. 9,00,000
2.	1820-21 A.D.	= Rs. 12,00,000
3.	1822-23 A.D.	= Rs. 9,00,000
4.	1836 A.D.	= Rs. 3,75,000
5.	1839 A.D.	= Rs. 5,70,000
6.	1846 A.D.	= Rs. 8,18,500
7.	1847 A.D.	= Rs. 9,00,000

(Sharma, D.C. : *A Socio-Economic History of Kashmir*, op. cit. p. 304).

33. Till up to 1823, the process of pressing of shawls was carried out in the city of Srinagar. William Moorcroft observed this process himself and got prepared a sketch of it. He has also shown a wooden cylinder which was used for this work. Hugel might be correct in his observations, that after the great famine of 1835 some of the washermen might have left the valley for Amritsar. But it is not plausible that the work of pressing of shawl was altogether stopped in the valley. *Various Trades of Kashmir*, op. cit. No. 1737 also Barker, A.F., *Cottage Textile Industries of Kashmir*, op. cit, p. 36).

34. In the early period of Sikh rule, the trade caravans passing through Jammu route were often looted by Mian Diddo a rebel leader of Jammu. The travelling

on the Berhamgalla route was made safe with the help of Dogra brothers including Gulab Singh. In case of any loss in transit the traders were compensated by the Dogra brothers under an agreement governing the transfer of Jammu Raj to the Dogra brothers by Maharaja Ranjeet Singh. (*Deed of Agreement by Mians Kishore Singh, Gulab Singh, Dhian Singh and Suchet Singh accepting the terms of Taulqa of Jammu granted to them D/38 dated 1820 A.D.*), Patiala Archives.

35. Baramula pass was not safe as the tribes inhabited on the lower reaches of River Jhelum, were opposed to the rule of the Sikh and were in revolt against the authority of the Lahore Durbar. Kanwar Sher Singh was able to defeat Saiyed Ahmad Brelavi who was a fanatic Muslim and wanted to restore Muslim rule in India. (Hunter, W.W., *The Indian Musalmans*, pp. 9-43, *Umdat-ut-Twarikh*, Vol. III, pp. 22, 30 & 31, Jacquemont, Victor, *Letters from India*, Vol. II, p. 84, Qayamuddin, Ahmad, *The Wahabi Movement in India*, p. 83).
36. There were 27 internal and external octroi posts in whole of Kashmir valley. The octroi duty was not only levied at every border town but also within the valley. (*Tarikh-i-Kalan*, op. cit. ff 90, 178, 119, 121, 123, 125 and 130, Ganeshi Lal, *Siyat Nama*, op. cit. pp. 32-35).
37. Hugel has referred only the floor coverings which were made from plain pashmina cloth and after-wards these were printed in many colours and designs. Moorcroft has referred three types of carpets which were manufactured in Kashmir during 1823. These were woollen pile carpets, woollen patch work carpets and *Gabhas* and embroidered felt carpet or *Nambadas*. (Moorcroft, William, *MS EUR D. 264* op. cit. p. 139, *Various Trades in Kashmir MS* op. cit. No. 1701 and 1724).
38. *Jenana* means *Pardanshin* ladies in *Herm*. Among the

rich families of Kashmiri Muslim the practice of polygamy was prevalent.

39. The cloth used for expensive tents was made from Pashmina wool and the poles used in tents were worked in Silver (*Umdat-ut-Twarikh, Vol. III, p. 166*).
40. In regard to Kashmir Maharaja Ranjeet Singh acted like a shrewed poultry keeper who never kills the hen which lays the golden eggs. Since Lahore Durbar was in receipt of a good amount of revenue from the shawl industries. How could this industry remain unattended. The efforts of Mian Singh the Sikh Governor of Kashmir in giving new life to shawl industries, after a great shock of famine of 1833 are highly praise worthy. He was able to bring back from India and Punjab the shawl weavers who had migrated earlier either due to oppression or due to famine condition of the valley, by giving them facilities and incentive in their work.
41. Zeror Singh: Zorawar Singh occupied Ladakh not for the sake of his over lord only to block the passage of the shawl wool traders to the British India. Zorawar Singh ordered the shawl wool traders to bring their wool to Jammu territory instead of supplying it to Kashmir. This resulted a short fall in the production of shawl goods in Kashmir and consequently the revenue receipts from the Kashmir also declined. In such circumstances Mian Singh governor of Kashmir made complaint to Ranjeet Singh to desist Gulab Singh from encouraging the shawl wool traders to sell their material in the Jammu territory instead of Kashmir, (Sharma, D.C., *A Socio-Economic History of Kashmir*, op. cit. p. 229, Datta, G.L., *Ladakh and Western Himalayan Politics*, op. cit, p.)
42. In Kashmir 16 *Traks* were equal to 72 *Pacca Seers*. A horse load was equal to 22 *Traks*. The amount of Taxation worked out by Hugel on shawl wool is underestimated. A horse load of white shawl wool (99 seers) was liable to charge Rs. 88 annas 10 which comes to Rs. 40 per maund as a custom duty.

(*Tarikh-i-Kalan*, op. cit. ff. 118 & 127).

So the estimate of Rs. 12/- as a octroi duty on shawl wool is not tenable.

43. After the fall of the Sikh Kingdom, the British Government tried to monopolise the shawl wool trade through new routes but failed due to opposition of Gulab Singh (Woodman, Dorothy, *Himalayan Frontier*, p. 335).
44. Secretary to the Government of Bombay was perhaps unaware about the import of shawl wool from Central Asia (Yarkand). As already stated that due to the epidemic among shawl wool goats of Western Tibet, the shawl wool was got imported from Central Asian Khanets to meet the demand of shawl looms of Kashmir. But the quality of the wool was inferior to that of which come from the Tibetan Highland. (*Tarikh-i-Kalan*, op. cit. f. 127, Vigne, G.T., op. cit. Vol. II, p. 344).
45. After the advent of Sikh rule in Kashmir the share of Punjabi Traders in shawl goods and other items of trade increased and they replaced the traditional trade merchants which were mostly Muslims. The decision of the Govt. of India to keep the border check posts under their control after the fall of the Kingdom of Lahore was not motivated to replace Muslim traders but to expand the British trade and empire beyond the border of Kashmir.
46. *Pattu Ekbari* and *Pattu Dobari* were manufactured in Zaingir Parganna and in Shupian. *Pattu* worth Rs. 40,000/- were exported only to Punjab during the year 1848 (Fauk, Mohd., *Tarikh-i-Badshai*, p. 348, *Bates Gazetteer*, p. 72, Vigne, G.T., *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 29). This shows that the export of *Pattu* from Kashmir was increased fourfold at the end of the Sikh rule.
47. The cotton cloth manufactured in Kashmir was coarse, open and flimsy, but one *Kadak* was of close texture

and fine (Badan-Powell, H.B., *Handbook op. cit. Vol. II* p. 29). Formerly during the Afghan rule, the *Kadak* was made so fine that its demand from Kabul was extensive (Moorcroft, William, *MS EUR D. 265*, p. 123).

48. Hugel was not aware about the silk industry of Kashmir fully. Abundance of mulberry trees in Kashmir afforded facilities for rearing silk worms. The silk industry of Kashmir in the early phase of Sikh rule was on decline but it was geared up in 1823. The total production was about six ass loads (10 mds. and 32 seers) which was not sufficient to meet the internal requirements (Moorcroft, William, *MS EUR D 264*, p. 54). About 50 maunds of silk was imported into Kashmir annually from Bokhara and other parts of British India to meet the demand of shawl industry. The silk was used by the silk warp makers to prepare the border of the shawls. In 1846 silk worth Rs. 22,000 was exported to Punjab. (Ganeshi Lal, *Siyahat Nama*, op. cit., p. 39). Separate regulations for silk rearing were drafted and enforced by Mian Singh the Sikh Governor of Kashmir (*Tarikh-i-Kalan MS* op. cit. f. 342).
49. During the Afghans rule a high quality of guns, pistols and other weapons were manufactured in Kashmir (Moorcroft, William, *MS EUR D. 264*, p. 116). But their production declined during the Sikh rule. But according to Moorcroft, the craftsmanship of the gun makers was even remarkable during his visit in 1823. So he got manufactured a special piece of gun barrel and sent it to England as a present to His Majesty the King of England (Moorcroft, William, *MS EUR D 265*, p. 55). The export of gun barrels, swords and shields to Ladakh continued, although there was a decline in their demand from the Punjab and Afghanistan (*Tarikh-i-Kalan MS* op. cit. f. 127, Thornton, Edward, *Gazetteer* op. cit. Vol. II, p. 9).

50. Five qualities of paper were produced and the best quality was known as *Farmashi*. Paper was mostly used for copying MSS, packing shawls, in buildings and in producing paper machie articles. (Vigne, G.T., *Travels* op. cit. Vol. II, p. 121). But Bates has cited only four types of paper produced in Kashmir in 1848. (Bates, C.E., *Gazetteer* op. cit., p. 72). This was regular industry and it yielded Rs. 3000 as annual tax to the State in 1823. (Moorcroft William, *MS EUR D. 264*, p. 116). There were 32 paper factories in Kashmir at the closing phase of the Sikh rule. These factories provided employment to about 384 men, Total annual export value of paper to the Punjab alone in 1848 was about Rs. 15000/-. (Bates, C.E., *Gazetteer* op. cit., p. 66 and 77). This shows that this was a regular industry contrary to the views expressed by Hugel.
51. Hugel has actually referred to the Paper Machie work also known as *Kari Kalamdani* (literally pen cases). It was one of the best known traditional craft of Kashmir. A variety of articles, like trays, boxes, *sarais*, book covers, furniture articles, chairs, Palanquins, *Howdahs*, ceilings, walls, doors, windows, and pen cases were worked in paper Machie. (Moorcroft, William, *MS EUR D 266* ff. 17 & 30, *MS EUR D. 113*, p. 79, Irwin John, *Arts and Crafts* op. cit., p. 115). Maharaja Ranjeet Singh took some artists belonging to this art to Lahore and made them work on the ceiling of the Baradari building of Shalimar Bagh at Lahore. Thus in 1823 there were left only 40 artists in Kashmir (Moorcroft William, *MS EUR D. 266* ff. 21-22). According to Major Leech, the painters were taxed up to the tune of Rs. 4,000/- during the year 1836-37 (Leech, *The Revenue of Kashmir 1836-37*, National Archives of India, New Delhi S.C. No. 13-17).
52. The industry of rock crystals, it appears, was on good footing in 1823. (*Various Trades in Kashmir MS* op. cit. No. 1693). But it declined in 1835 because of

- famine and political oppression (Thornton, Edward, *Gazetteer*, op. cit. Vol. I, p. 364).
53. Hugel wanted to get stone slab on which the name of the three Europeans Henderson, Vigne and himself were to be inscribed for posterity in the city of Srinagar. But he got the scribe after a great difficulty which shows that the stone cutting work was on decline.
 54. The demand for the rose water was from the local Chemists (Pansaris) who administered this water to their patients for many diseases and for the preparation of indigenous drugs.
 55. Rose Oil (Attar). Srinagar being the center of international trade, agents and traders of many countries used to reside there. For their amusement and recreation a class of public women congregated. This class of women was the consumer of Rose oil.
 56. The process of the manufacture of Attar has also been referred by G.T. Vigne in the same manner.
 57. *Bed Mushak* an extract was prepared from the flowers of Musk Willow tree. The people of Kashmir considered it a very refreshing drink and was not a smelling oil as stated by Hugel. All sorts of virtues were attributed to it and considered to having cooling properties (Baden-Powell, H : op. cit, Vol. I, p. 385). The Punjab was its export market and it was an item of luxury (Ganeshi Lal, op. cit, p. 32).
 58. The glass stones were available locally from village Lal in Dudarhama Pargana (*Tarikh-i-Hassan* op. cit, Vol. I, pp. 103-104). The melting process was carried out in an oven after *Masahala Anchin* (a chemical) imported from British India was mixed with the powder of glass stone (*Tarikh-i-Kalan* op. cit., p. 114). Not only mirror and flasks were produced from glass but the glass bangles were also manufactured and were in great demand in Kashmir and were exported to Ladakh also (*Tarikh-i-Kalan* op. cit, f. 127).

59. After the conquest of Kashmir by the Sikhs the manufacture of wine started on a large scale. This was because the Sikh soldiers were very fond of wine. (Vigne, G.T., op. cit, Vol. I, p. 322). The state got Rs. 500/- as a excise duty from the wine shopkeepers in 1823 (Moorcroft, William, *MS EUR D 66* f. 38). It was raised to Rs. 3600/- in 1936-37 (Leech (Major) op. cit. No. 13-17).

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4

The Taxation—System

The existing system of taxation in Kashmir, has been introduced by Akbar the Great and if one looks at it with a critical mind, it becomes apparent that it was not his intention to make the poor inhabitants of Kashmir reel under the burden of heavy taxation. He has enacted a law which prescribes that out of all the agricultural products $\frac{1}{3}$ rd of the gross yield, is payable to the Government. But unfortunately this rule is never followed strictly and the landowner was fleeced under various items of taxation and tips etc., so much money that he hardly was left to enjoy just $\frac{1}{3}$ rd of the produce. After seeing this Akbar had ordered that out of all the agricultural products, one half of the value of the harvest be collected from the farmers as tax.¹ This tax was collected partly in the shape of money and partly in the shape of the agricultural produce. This is done in such a way that $\frac{1}{4}$ th was collected at a lower average price and $\frac{3}{4}$ ths in Natura (?). Akbar has forbidden any further demands on the farmers by way of taxation and he threatened his officers with severe punishment, if they do not obey the rules while collecting the taxes from the farmers. This system of taxation introduced by Akbar the Great, is still followed more or less. Only the fleecing by the officials could not be effectively prevented. The native farmers do not grudge paying to the Government as tax one half of their gross harvest and they did not really feel hard-pressed to pay this quantum of tax. But they did bitterly complain about the fleecing and swindling by the harassing officials and corrupt bureaucrats.² The agricultural land here as in India, belongs wholly to the Government.³ The farmer (Zamindar) finds it

very cheap to give the land on lease to the people for agricultural operations, and collect one half of the agricultural⁴ produce at his share. But sadly enough that is not the end of the matter. A lot of higgling and bargaining argument is often found to occur between the officers and the farmers. In order to explain this fleecing process that goes on, it would be necessary here to elaborate the system with some examples.⁵ If we assume that the harvest of a Zamindar is 32 Kharwars of rice, the Sardar takes away as the lawful share assigned to him under the taxation laws of the land, this being a half of the gross amount of harvest. Out of the balance of the harvest he demands $1/4$ th under the name of "Trukki"⁶ (Toroeki, namely 4 trak⁷ out of every kharwar),⁸ so much so, after all these people take away their respective share, the zamindar is left with just 12 kharwar. Now the kanungo, the chief patwari, the patwari, the makadam and the chaprassi of the sardar take away $1/16$ th of the harvest as their dues and this works out to 1 trak per kharwar. The above mentioned categories of people are the employees of the Government, who are partly supposed to keep a watch on the harvest, so that nothing is removed from the fields without dues to each category of Government employee being paid out in kind.⁹ The sardar would demand his share on the basis of his lease rights. When paddy crop is cut and harvested, the grain is piled up and out of the heap, the Government takes away a half of it. Then $1/4$ th of the balance quantity, which works out altogether to $5/8$ ths of the total quantity goes to pay for the taxes and $1/16$ th of the total quantity would be collected as some other tax. Therewith the Government collects the tax without having to spend any money in the process. Thus the farmer would be paying 32 kharwar and therefore the actual expenditure would work out to $1/16$. So much so, out of 32 kharwar, the farmer is left with the just 10 kharwar. In the earlier times, $1/2$ of the half which was the share of the zamindar, is taken as Trukki, or it worked out to $1/4$ th of the total quantum of harvest. Then in that case, only 6 kharwar of the 32 remained for the producer.

Surrender quantity of the produce	16 kharwar
Trukki	4 kharwar
Share paid to the Government officers	2 kharwar
	<hr/>
	22 kharwar
	<hr/>

A further quantity out of what remains would be lost towards payment of dues to the district authorities, namely to the two Shikdars, (watchman) in each village, because these persons are supposed to protect the grain from being pilfered by thieves. They get their share, in addition to clothing and food. The thanadar, who collects the taxes, by going from village to village and camps there as long as he likes and during his camp, he demands one head of sheep and 1 rupee per day as his daily allowance and also collects for his people at home adequate quantity of rice and ghee.

In such a deplorable system,¹⁰ that the zamindar would often land himself in perpetual debt, is obvious. When the time of sowing operation comes, many of these poor farmers would have no seeds left for sowing purposes. The sardar would hoard the grain and offers to lend it at almost 10% of the quantity as his premium. This means $1\frac{1}{2}$ trak per kharwar, which is indeed an extraordinary rate of interest. These are borrowed from land-lords and money¹¹ lenders for agricultural operations. Sometimes, money needed for agricultural operations would have to be borrowed by the poor farmers from the Bankers at an oppressive rate of interest of 300% from spring to fall.

The rate of payments in kind, for all other land produce, is the same as in the case of rice, except for the fact that only Trukki would be demanded for these products.¹²

It is evident, how very fertile a land should Kashmir be, so that such a horrible and oppressive taxation system would be practicable. The massive quantities of harvest which rice yields is the reason why this staple food is at all grown over there in Kashmir despite these high expense ratios. It is noticed above that a family might be able to produce 100 kharwars of rice. Assuming that the zamindar was able to obtain the seed for

sowing from the Government, the following would be an account of his expenses that should be subtracted from his harvest :

Interest of 3 kharwars for cultivation :	9.6
Tax :	45.0
Trukki :	11.4
Promotional taxes (surcharges) :	6.4
demanded by the various categories of people, as explained above.	
Item—sage(?) :	3.2
	<hr/>
	75.0
	<hr/>

Thus 25 kharwars remain for the share of the zamindar or the 1/7th grain out of the harvest would remain as the balance of the yield, which is still much more than in Europe,¹³ where the landlord would retain 1/4th of the harvest, after paying off all the expenses.

However, even if the taxation level on rice is considered to be bearable burden, the taxation on other kinds of grain, as already stated, is considerably at a lower¹⁴ level : but it is nevertheless so heavy that very little of it could be cultivated.

As stated already, the Government is the owner of the land and therefore from such uncultivated lands for which no land tax is to be paid, as it is categorised as waste land. From these uncultivated chunks of land, every village¹⁵ has to pay Rupee 1 for 100 kharwar long grass or hey and half that amount for the short grass and the sardar has in addition the right to demand and take one half of the harvest.

The taxes, which are brought in by the industrial products, is highly variable and varies from just a nominal percentage to as much as 20%¹⁶ and indeed in the case of one and the same product, depending upon its value, the higher it is, to the same extent the excise duty would also be increasing and something more would be said in connection with the export of these products.

REFERENCES

1. No doubt Akbar the Great had issued order that fifty percent of the total produce of a land be taken as land revenue from the Kashmiri cultivators. But this amount was insufficient to feed a so large population of Srinagar city. So on the recommendation of one of the Mutasaddis M. Yusuf Khan the land revenue was enhanced to $\frac{3}{4}$ of the total produce (*Ain Akbari* Vol. I, pp. 370-371).
2. The revenue administration was held by the local Kashmiris generally by a Persian knowing Kashmiri Pandits. Maharaja Ranjit Singh inquired from Wade why the Kashmiri officials indulged in dishonesty, fraudulence and chickenery? The answer from Wade was that the character of the people is liable to change and is effected by the state of society in which they live and the conduct of those who governs them. The Kashmiri Pandits with their cultural tradition and knowledge of Persian, contributed the official class, next only to the alien elite, and the rulers, had to depend on them for the assessment and collection of land revenue then the main source of income to the state. They were also oppressed by the rulers to yield heavy sums and in the absence of any legal security or political power they have to develop administrative efficiency as well as the art of flattery and deception. (Wade to Macnaughton, op. cit. No. 13).
3. *Ain Akbari* op. cit. Vol. I, pp. 370-371.
4. The land revenue was farmed out to the individuals and revenue farmers on yearly basis. This system of revenue farming itself was again the interest of the cultivators. The Revenue Farmers who failed to remit the stipulated amount to the Lahore Durbar were often put behind the bars. To avoid such humiliation they extorted as much possible from the poor cultivators (Moorcraft William, *MS EUR D. 264* p. 38 footnote, Henry Lawrence; *The Kashmir and Countries Around the Indus* op. cit., p. 482).

5. More elaborate examples of revenue system have been given by William Moorcroft. (Moorcroft William, *MS EUR. D. 264*, p. 111).
6. *Trukki*. Here author refers to an item of receipt under the head *Trukki* which means a due from the cultivators to the State Government on account of an interest on the advance of grain which was provided to the farmers to overcome the famine condition in the time of Raja Sikhjewan Mal, Afghan Governor (1753-62) (Parmu, R.K., *A History of Muslims Rules in Kashmir. 1320-1819*). This was charged till up to the early Dorga rule.
7. *Toruk* (Trak). It was a unit of local weight. The other local weights which were prevalent during the rule of Sikhs in the valley were as under :—

3-1/3 Mahmood Shahi Rupees	=1 Pal
22 Pals	=1 Seer
6 Seers (Kacha)	=1 Trak
22 Traks	=1 Horse load.

(Moorcroft, William : *MS EUR D. 265*, p. 4)

3½ Mahmood Shahi Rupees	=1 Pal
20 Pals	=1 Seer
6 Seers (Kacha)	=1 Trak
16 Traks	=1 Kharwar.

By comparison of these two versions we find a slight difference in weight of Pal. It appears that this was due to the variation of weight of Mahmood Shahi Rupee. (Moorcroft William, *MS EUR. D. 264*, p. 27 and *MS. EUR. D. 263*, p. 112).

8. Kharwar was a local unit of weight which was equal to 72 Packka Seer. (Vigne, G.T. : *Travels op. cit.* Vol. II, p. 429).
9. From the ancient time the state used to receive land revenue in grain and partly in cash and it had a

monopoly of trade in paddy to feed the large city population of Srinagar. Even till up to late 19th century, the salaries were paid in grain (Jins) (Lawrence, Walter ; *Kashmir Valley*, p. 243).

10. The revenue system of Kashmir was complicated one and was liable to many intermediate irregularities. For instance, *Kassur Shali* (expense of carrying Shali to the city) to which the farmers were entitled carriage allowance were seldom given to them. *Administration on Kashmir on Transfer to Mr. Gulab Singh*, F.S.C. 28th January 1848 No. 35-44, N.A. I).

They also had to bribe the Shikdar (overseer) to wink at his stealing from the produce of his own labour. (Moorcroft, William : *MS EUR D. 264*, p. 113). The officials connected with the division of crops were more clever than the simple cultivators and they usually enhanced their share through corrupt means. The rate of *Mujwaza* were not fixed, but varied from village to village and these were also arbitrary. The market rate of paddy was about Re. 1/- per Kharwar whereas the cultivators had to pay higher than the market rate. They were not allowed to cut their crops without the permission of Shikadar and, in certain cases, the crops went rot in the fields because of delay in the issue of permission to the cultivators (*Administration of Kashmir on Transfer to Mr. Gulab Singh* op. cit. No. 35-44, Moorcroft William, *MS. EUR D. 265*, p. 126). To understand this complicated system of land revenue, it will not be out of context to quote a case of Sat Ram a cultivator of village Teagam, of Parganha Audvin in detail. The rates of *Mujwaza* for his village were 6 Traks and 4 Traks per Kharwar according to the quality of soil :

" <i>Har-do-Hissah</i> or full produce	= 90 Kharwars
<i>Sarkaree Hissah</i> (Govt. Share)	= 45 Kharwars
<i>Trukkee, Abwab</i> etc.	= 15 Kharwars
	<hr/>
Total Govt. demand	= 60 Kharwars

Mobizah (Mujwaza)	37.8 traks
Leaving in hand	22.8 traks
Deduct allowance in carriage	2.6 traks
	<hr/>
Total to be paid in kind	20.2 traks

Of the above 37 *Kharwars*, 8 *Traks*, 22 *Kharwars*, 8 *traks* are to be paid from at a *Nerakh* (rate) of Re. 1.6 annas per *Kharwar* amounting to = Rs. 30.15

For 15 *Kharwars* at a *Nerakh* (rate) of Re 1.4 annas. Rs. 18.12

Total to be paid in money Rs. 49.11

While for his 37 *Kharwars* 8 *Traks* Sat Ram will receive 39 *Kharwars*, he will pay to Government 49 rupees 11 annas in money and 20 *Kharwars* 2 *traks* in grain and keep himself 69 *Kharwars* 14 *Traks*". In this case the rate of *Trukkee* was about 2 *traks* per *Kharwar*. (*Administration of Kashmir on Transfer to Mr. Gulab Singh op. cit. No. 35-44*).

11. In every village, there was a shopkeeper known as Wani (Bania) who used to advance petty amounts to the cultivators under the system known as *Wad*. No bond was required for getting such advance, but the entry of advance was made usually in ledger by the Wani himself. No interest was charged on such types of advances as it was considered unislamic. However he used to get, in return against the advance blankets, ghee, apples, grain etc. at much below the market rates. In this way he used to get the benefit upto to 12 to 15 per cent on his advances (Lawrence, Walter : *The Valley of Kashmir op. cit. pp. 5 and 387*). To talk about 300% interest from spring to fall is not justified. Moreover during the Sikh rule, the seeds of grain were advanced to the cultivators at the time of sowing from the state Godowns and these were charged with other items of land revenue at fixed rates (Vigne, G.T. : *Travels op. cit. Vol. I, p. 310, Tarikh-i-Kalan op. cit. F. 133*).

12. Cash crops, such as cotton, pulses and tobacco were assessed in the same as paddy. But in such cases one *Trak* extra was levied under Khurch and rates were also commuted in to cash at established rates (Administration of Kashmir on transfer to Mr. Gulab Singh op. cit. No. 35-44).
13. In spite of much irregularities and corruption, the land revenue system of Kashmir when we compared not only with Europe but also with British India we find that it had some edge over the both and was slightly favourable to the cultivator.
14. The crops other than paddy were of insignificant and had very little source of revenue to the Sikh Kingdom.
15. The author has actually referred to *Nawarh* a Village tax. It varies from smaller village to larger one. There was also another tax known as *Sar Deni*. It was charged @ Re. 1/- for every hundred Kharwar of grass from Smaller village and Rs. 2/- from large village (*Tarikh-i-Kalan* op. cit. F. 58).
16. The working classes of the city of Srinagar were subject to direct taxes by the Lahore Durbar. Like Hugel, Moorcroft was also of the opinion that it was difficult to find upon what principle some branches of Shawl manufacturers were so highly taxed while other were wholly exempted. (Moorcroft, William, *M.S. BURD* 26th, p. 115-119).

5

Imports and Exports

The articles imported into Kashmir are the following :

1. Ahu-wool from Iskardu in insignificant amounts.
2. Pashmina (goat wool) from Ladakh.

Both these articles have been discussed previously in detail.

3. *Tea* : This is an important luxury item for the inhabitants of the Kashmir valley. The people of the valley love this drink especially. But this drink is far too expensive to be enjoyed by the lowest category of people. Those who can still afford this luxury, drink it both in the morning and evening and when the guest comes there is always a cup of tea prepared and served to him. The sort of tea prepared in Kashmir is entirely different from what we know by this name in our homes in Europe. It is prepared in the following way : One begins this process by keeping an iron kettle over the fire and pour 5 cups of water in it. Then one cup full of tea leaf is added to the pot and in addition one table spoon full of backing soda is also added to the pot and then the mixture is thoroughly shaken by stirring. The entire thing is thrown into the water when it comes to simmer. One allows the mixture to brew for about 10 minutes. Then one pours two cups of cold water into the pot and allows the mixture to brew for another 10 minutes at a lower temperature and once again 5 cups of cold water is added to the kettle. Then the brew is made to draw the decoction for another half an hour of boiling, it is filtered through a cloth piece into a large kettle and a small bit of rock salt is added. The whole mass is then bubbled for a while, like one does the chacolet. A teaspoon full of water is added to the mixture.

It is then that the actual cocktail of tea is ready for preparation. Now the iron kettle mentioned previously is taken and 4-5 cups of boiling milk is added to the vessel and the brew prepared already is added to the kettle and kept on fire and the whole mixture is allowed to boil for 10 minutes. Then a cup full of fresh butter is added to the mixture. Now the special drink is poured back into the kettle and stirred well and at last it is poured out into the drinking cups. It looks completely like chacolet. A stranger would find the first tea cup served to him a bit peculiar and would apply the cup to his lips with a certain degree of fear and could just manage to drink up the first cup of Kashmir tea with considerable effort. It is only after some time that he would find it pleasant after getting used to the taste. The taste is like that of a strong soup made out of scorched flour.

The tea comes into Kashmir from Ladakh.¹ It reaches Ladakh from various directions, namely from Lasa and Yarkand. From the first mentioned place, usually a sort of black tea comes and this is in the form of spherical globules which are surrounded by with minute leaves. This is the usual sort of tea available in the market. It costs about Rs. 6 per pound and consists of the spherical globules just mentioned. It resembles the tea which is popular in Canton and which is known there as the yellow pecko tea.

The second variety of tea imported from Lasa, is actually a tea-extract or tea sugar, as one likes to call it. It looks like pieces with black shiny colour. It is easily soluble and is available in the market in the form of small packets.

The best tea, however, comes from Yarkand where it is brought from the chinese border through the Turfan of Ihle and through Axor. Turfan is situated at the border of the chinese kingdom (Empire) of which Yarkand was a province, in the old Roman sense of the word. As many as 30 different sorts of tea come by this route into Kashmir and out of these only two are well known in Canton. These are namely, the finest heison-tea (which is small sized leafy tea) and the flowery-pecko. These are the commonest varieties of tea coming from Yarkand

and these are packed in specially shaped packets. Owing to the object poverty of the inhabitants of the Valley, it is obtainable so far only as a gift or present from the business people and pilgrims to the officials and other administrative authorities. It is indeed revolting to see how these choicest varieties of tea are literally destroyed in their taste, through the elaborate mode of tea preparation described above, for which the strongly coloured tea might have been the best suited. As an import-article in Kashmir, tea is insignificant in quantity. I do not believe that the entire quantity of tea imported into Kashmir would be much more than 500 pounds.

4. *Salt*: It is brought into Kashmir from Punjab, by transport on donkeys and mules and through Hussain² Abdal and Muzafferabad. This mineral occurs in huge quantities (deposits) in the hill ranges, which constitutes the last or terminal part of the Hindukush that forms the high ranging Central Asia. This Hindukush range of mountains is interrupted by the Indus river that flows from east to west. On the coast of Indus or rather the banks of the Indus river, there are huge white and rose coloured masses and Mr. Elphinstone, in his work (writings) on Kabul gives in exciting description of the fantastically beautiful view which these crystalline masses offer to the observer. Their shining appearance would be further augmented when viewed against the background of the neighbouring dark mountains and rocks, especially at those places where they are interrupted by the flow of the Indus river. From these mining factories in this mountainous range, the salt is brought to Kashmir and from here, it goes further into Tibet.³ The salt factories themselves belong, as is the case with all the mining factories in India, to the owner of the land where the mine is situated. So here it belongs to Gulab Singh of Jammu to whom Ranjeet Singh had given on lease. The salt is mined and exported through private speculation or auction.

5. *Hides*: This article comes into Kashmir from Ladakh and to Ladakh it comes from further northern regions. Sable is the most valued fur-material and next to it is the grey astrakhan. The indigenous hides are those of otter and fox skins. In the latter animal the parts of skin covering the legs

are taken because it is this part of the hide that is extremely soft and therefore the most valued and sought-after fur coat.

6. Silver in the form of clumps, each of $2\frac{1}{2}$ pounds with the chinese stamp marking, which is therefore certified thereby as the pure silver, comes into Kashmir from Ladakh in small quantities. This metal is made into coins⁵ in Kashmir.

7. Gold is imported into Kashmir partly in a raw state in the form of gold-sand, but also partly as a finished product in the form of Iskardu⁶ coins mentioned elsewhere. But these imports are in insignificant quantities. This is one of the few articles, along with ahu-wool and vellor that are imported into Kashmir from Iskardu.⁷

8. Sugar is imported in large quantities from Punjab. This is imported in the form of sugar powder (Khandsari) and in Kashmir, it is further processed into candle sugar by a process of crystallization.⁸ The finished product is mostly consumed within the valley and some of it is exported as well to Tibet.⁹

9. Sulphur comes into Kashmir from the lower Himalayas and is processed here into a coarse-grained powder.

In the markets (bazaars) of Kashmir, one finds also certain other articles, which to a large extent are imported from China. These are the silks, medicines, porcelain and such other goods. These imports are made in such insignificant amounts that it is not worthy of any detailed description here :

The exports from Kashmir consist of-

1. *Rice* : This is main export article and it is sent to Iskardu and Ladakh and with the income from this exported grain, the cost of imported pashmina is largely paid for. Both Ladakh and Iskardu themselves produce rice, though not in sufficient quantities that meets the requirements of their populations. Kashmir rice goes from Ladakh in Central¹⁰ Asia further northwards. Other agricultural produce are not exported out of Kashmir.

2. Fresh fruits are exported in very large amounts to Punjab. Caravans (of 100 to 200 carriers), carrying baskets of

birch-bark and carefully packed apples and nut-fruits (dry-fruits) are despatched to Punjab.¹¹

3. The kalga¹² or the black heron features are an export article, which does not deserve special mention because of its insignificant amounts. All these feathers of heron are exported to Lahore.

Exports of similarly insignificant quantities are also effected in respect of the following :

4. Horse-export: In Punjab and Hindustan, only the large and attractive horses are considered as valuable and the Kashmir hacks are not very sought after in Punjab.¹³ Nonetheless, a few hundreds of these animals might cross the borders of Punjab and remain there.

5. Salt is exported in huge amounts to Tibet.

6. The main export article is still the pashmina-shawl and other wool processed articles, which are exported to various countries in all directions.¹⁴ But the largest number of these goods are exported to India. The exports of this article to India, in comparison to other destinations might be in the ratio of 100 : 1.

7. Cotton products are exported to Tibet.

All other export articles are too insignificant to deserve a detailed mention here.

REFERENCES

1. The trade between Tibet and Ladakh (Kashmir) was regularised under the treaty obligation and long established traditions. The tea was also imported from Yarkand. Many varieties of tea was also imported from Tibet in the form of bricks and leaves. Two preparation of tea were popular, among the Kashmiris i.e. sweet tea without milk and salty tea *Shir* with milk. These preparations were made in *Somawar* a Russian

Urin (Jacquemont Victor : *Letters* op. cit. p. 212, Vigne, G.T., op, cit. Vol. II p. 87 and Ganeshi Lal, op. cit, p. 32).

- 2 & 3. Through Ladakh, the salt was exported to Tibet. The consumption of salt in Kashmir, itself was very high as Kashmiris are known of having taste for more salty vegetables and other items of foods. The crystal salt was imported into the valley almost through all the trade routes bordering Punjab and was further exported to Central Asia including Tibet. Inferior Salt known as Bota Num was imported into Kashmir from Ladakh *Tarikh-Kalan* op. cit. ff. 126, 127 and 130, Vigne, G.T., op. cit. Vol. II p. 345).
4. The salt mines of Punjab were farmed out to Gulab Singh by the Lahore Darbar who had virtually established salt trade monopoly in the Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir.
5. Hari Singhi Rupaiya was minted in the mint of Srinagar from an alloy of Silver and copper of equal proportion. The silver for this purpose was imported from Russia through Yarkand (Moorcroft, William, *Travels* Part II p. 231).
- 6 & 7. *Iskardu Coin* was a small and thin gold coin worth 1.6 Nanak Shahi Rupaiya Amritsari or Calcutta Sicca. It was the currency of the Iskardu Raja (Baltistan) (Thornton, Edward, op. cit, Vol. I p. 366).
8. Iskardu was also known by Little Tibet during the Sikh rule (*Tarikh-i-Kalan* op. cit. f. 127).
9. In various trade of Kashmir we find the illustrated process of making crystal sugar. There is no other evidence whether it was exported to Tibet or not (*Various Trades of Kashmir* op. cit.).
10. In the year of plenty the rice production of Kashmir was surplus. The credit goes to Hugel that he has given us for the first time an estimate of the quantity of rice

which was exported to Tibet and other parts of Central Asia. Rice has also been included an item of trade in the *Tarikh-i-Kalan*. (*Tarikh-i-Kalan* f. 126) but the exact quantity which was exported to Central Asia and other country is not available from this source.

11. In the absence of easy means of communications in the 19th century the most of the apples and other fruits were either consumed by the local population or by the animals and very little proportion of them was exported to the Punjab.
12. The herons of Kashmir were the main source of supply of feathers which were in great demand for plumes (Kalgis) worn by the Sikh Ministers, Officers of high ranks and other men of importance. It was the fashion of the day in the Sikh Kingdom to wear plumes on their turbans. Even the Muslim rulers of Afghanistan used to wear it on their heads. So the feathers of herons were in great demand in the Punjab (Sharma, D.C. : *Socio Economic History of Kashmir 1819-46* (Thesis Jammu University p. 242).
13. The horses of Kashmir are of small size and hardy. The breeding grounds of Kashmiri horses are the swamps of the Kashmir valley where they fed on reed. The horses of Parganha Dachipura and Ular were the best (Temple Richard ; *Journal Kept in Hyderabad, Kashmir, Sikkim and Nepal*, Vol. II p. 63).
14. The Shawl goods of Kashmir and other products were exported through out the world especially to the following countries :
 1. Afghanistan 2. Armenia 3. Arabia 4. British India
 5. Bokhara 6. Baghdad (Iraq) 7. Persia 8. Russia
 9. Turkey 10. Turkistan (See appendix no. II).
 (Irwin, John : *Shawls* op. cit., pp. 37-45).

6

Trade

The trade in Kashmir is entirely active, or in other words, is completely to the advantage of the valley. It has a favourable trade balance. Pashmina and all other woven articles that are exported, whose value during the year 1835 has sunk to such a low level as 230,000 rupees, owing to the specially unfortunate conditions prevailing in the valley during that year and if this low turnover would account for as little as 12% of the normal level of these exports, then the total export potential of this product should be taken as 1,903,333 rupees. Although the growth in export of this article might not be expected to go up very rapidly in the immediate future, nonetheless, the potential value of the annual export of this pashmina products might be taken as:..... Rs. 2,500,000¹

If one takes the average export of rice to be of the order of 5 lakh Kharwar (in the year 1835, there was no export at all of this item) and if one assumes Rs. 2 per Kharwar, it works out to a value of..... Rs. 1,000,000

Rs. 3,500,000

If one assumes that all other export articles put together would be of a value of..... Rs. 500,000

The total value of the above mentioned export articles works out to..... Rs. 4,000,000

As against this, the value of the imports is as follows:
 20,000² pounds of pashmina-wool from Ladakh, probably at
 the rate of 16 or 17 rupees per pound..... Rs. 340,000

All other import articles valued at..... Rs. 160,000

Total : Rs. 500,000

The salt and sugar (the latter being imported as raw material and in Kashmir processed as finished product) is exported. The consumption of both these articles within the Kashmir valley is indeed so very low, as compared to the profits they bring in by reexport, that the assumption of 160,000 rupees worth of imports, the value of imported pashmina excepting, is most probably very plausible figure.

The total income, which the active trade of Kashmir Valley during a whole year, could bring in, according to the above calculations, would be the order of 35 lakh³ rupees or 2,070,833 fl. C.M.

At that time there used to be regular movement of trade caravans to and from Kashmir and these were called by the name *Kafila persisch*. This name is applied also to the trade caravans carrying any other trade articles. The import and export of articles to and from Kashmir was taking place by different means of transport available, depending upon the choice of the owner of the goods. Often the transport was effected by means of horses or mules, each carrying small amounts of loads ranging from 20 to 25 pounds. Two to three men used to accompany the animals moving in caravans, so that they could take care of the food and water requirements of these transport animals. The trade routes are so safe that any armed escorts⁴ were superfluous. When the shawls were being transported, usually the owner of the goods would himself escort the animals. These shawl dealers used to come from Hindustan, Kabul or from Punjab accompanied by a few servants and after making his purchase transactions, he loads his goods on 2 horses and accompanies them back home together with his hired servants. The value of the goods transported by the tradesman by this method, each time would be of

the order of 15,000 to 20,000 rupees, on an average. Rarely a few tradesmen might come to Kashmir for purchase of shawls, from Persia or Bombay and still more rarely, businessmen might come there from other directions.

REFERENCES

1. The value of Shawl goods produced in Kashmir fell from Rs. 64,00,000 in 1821 (Moorcroft, William, *MS BUR D.* 260 p. 6) to 3,200,000 in 1836 (Thornton, Edward, op. cit, Vol. I p. 365).
2. The estimated figure of imports of Shawl wool given by Hugel are far less than the earlier figures of shawl wool import given by Moorcroft. He has given the total import of shawl wool to 800 horse loads, which comes to 64000 lbs. to that of 20,000 lbs. as given by Hugel. This shows that by 1835 the import of shawl wool had declined by 44,000 lbs. due to effect of great famine of 1835. So the estimate of Hugel in regard to the import of Shawl wool and its value seems to be correct :

Total import	...	20,000 lbs.
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Its cost @ Rs. 16-17 per lbs.	...	3,40,000 lbs.
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But Thornton the editor of the *Gazetteer* has given the value of the total import of shawl wool into Kashmir to the tune of Rs. 4,35,200 which shows a difference of Rs. 95,000/-. This increase might be due to the tremendous increase in the prices of the shawl wool and its finished products by 1840 (Thornton, Edward, op. cit. Vol. I p. 365).

3. The figures of Rs. 35 Lakhs for the total active trade of Kashmir during the whole year speak that it could not regain the figure of 55 lakhs of the earlier trade during the Sikh rule (Sharma, D.C. : op. cit. p. 321).

4. This observation of the author that the "trade routes are so safe that any armed escorts were superfluous" is factual. This was made possible by the Sikh administration after it cleared the valley of the depredation of Galwans, Bomba Khaka tribes. Law and order was strictly enforced and life and property became safer as never before.

Banking, Currency, Weights and Measures

Banking

The banking system, in the strict sense of modern times, did not operate in Kashmir. Certain individuals used to advance money to *Karkhanadars*, traders and even to the Government in times of financial crisis. *Hundis* or indigenous bills of exchange were also in use removing the risk of carrying cash to remote parts of the country for doing business. These were also negotiable. During and before the Sikh rule there were Kashmiris and non-Kashmiri financiers¹ who used to issue *Hundis* which could be exchanged even at Amritsar, Benaras, Calcutta, Kabul etc. But there was no system of obtaining deposits regularly from public and paying them interest. There were also about 30 Bankers (Wafarosh) in the city of Srinagar in 1823 who used to advance money to shawl-loom owners charging 8 to 16% of interest.² Often the retailers in shawl wool were provided credit by Commission Brokers (Mokems) for a short period of 2 to 3 months at 2 to 3% interest. The number of *Mokems*³ in 1823 was about 15. Traders in bullion and money-changers were viewed as one and the same and they used to provide loan to the artists. Mortgage⁴ of land in the city of Srinagar was also prevalent. The deed of mortgage was got registered in the civil courts by the *Qazi*. In this way the Kashmiris used to get money for their social and personal requirements. By the end of the Sikh rule it appears that the Government also began to provide loan to the *Jamha Khurchee Karkhanadars*⁵ (shawl factories owners).

In every large village, there was a shopkeeper known as

Wani (Bania) who used to advance petty amounts to the cultivators under the system known as *Wad*.⁶ No bond (*Hujat*) was required for getting such advance, but the entry of advance was made usually in the ledger by the *Wani* himself. No interest was charged on such types of advances, as it was considered unislamic. However he used to get, in return against the advance, blankets, *ghee*, apples grain, etc. at much below the market rates. In this way, he used to get the benefit equal to 12 to 15 per cent on his advances.

Currency : Weight and Measures

The currency system of Kashmir was bimetallic, complex and confusing. When the Sikhs occupied the valley in 1819, they found in circulation⁷ various coins⁸ of remote past and of neighbouring states. Of these the principal ones were, Herat Dinar, Mohmood Shahi Rupaiya,⁹ Kabul Rupaiya¹⁰ and Iskardu Hun. This was primarily because, Srinagar was a city of International trade where men of many countries and nationalities were engaged in shawl trade. Like the previous rulers, the Sikhs, also introduced in Kashmir, their own currency, *Gold Mohar*¹² of Ranjit Singh, the only gold coin of the Lahore Darbar and the *Nanak Shahi*¹³ or *Nanaki Rupaiya*. The face value of the *Gold Mohar* was about 15 *Nanak Shahi Rupaiya* but its circulation was limited and it was minted in Amritsar. The *Nanak Shahi Rupaiya* which was the main coin of the Sikh kingdom was minted at Amritsar but its minting also started in Srinagar in 1819.¹⁴ One such coin is in the possession of Partap Museum, Srinagar and has the following

Persian words on the Reverse :

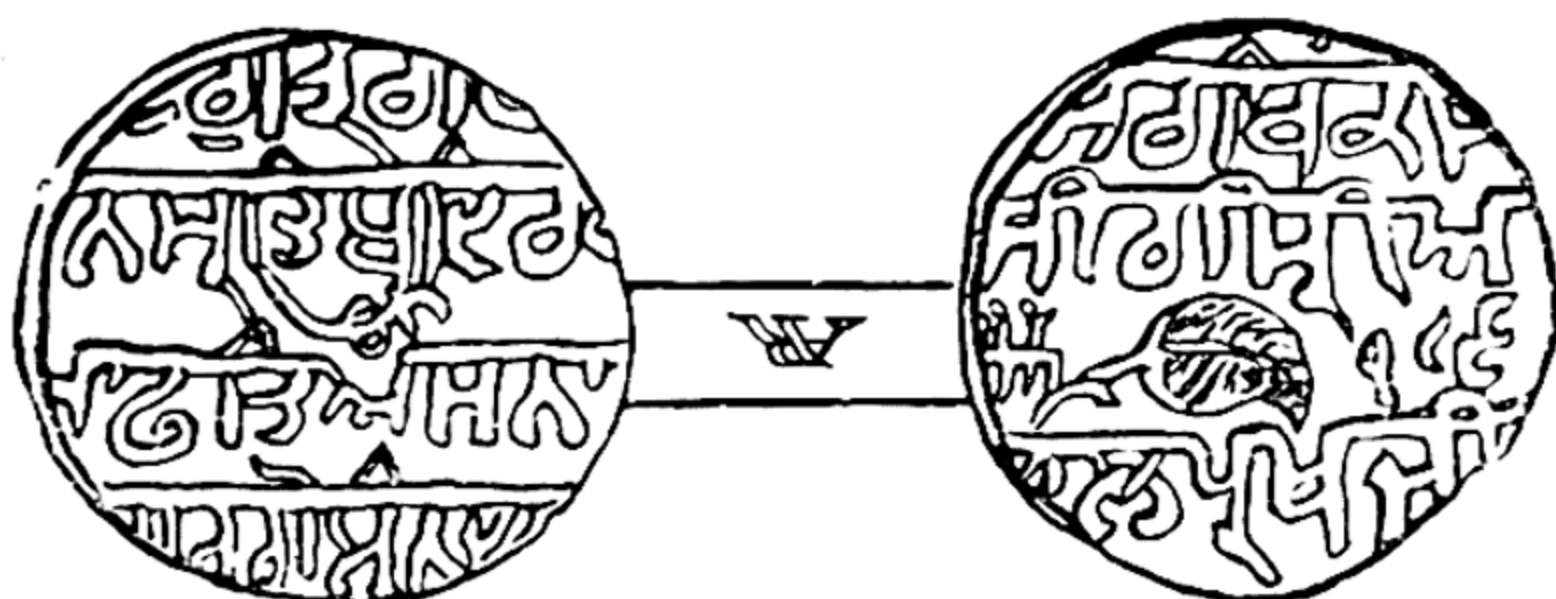
کشمیر
۱۸۷۶ بکرمی

which means, it was minted in Kashmir in the year 1876 Bikrami (1819 A.D.). On its obverse, a below noted couplet is

inscribed in Persian also:

دیک و نورخ دفع نصرت بید رنگ
یافته از نانک گورو گو بند رنگ

The English rendering of which could be : By the favour of glorious God, Govind Singh received from Guru Nanak, the Guru hospitality, sword, victory and success. In most of the cases the script and language used on the Sikh coins was Persian but Hugel has referred to a coin which had Punjabi script on the reverse and obverse as under :



In 1821, Hari Singh, the Sikh Governor of Kashmir struck a new coin at the mint of Srinagar known after him as *Hari Singhi Rupaiya*.¹⁵ It was coined from an alloy¹⁶ of silver and copper in equal proportion of six *Masha* each. Its value in proportion to *Nanak Shahi Rupaiya* (Zarb-i-Amritsar) was about 10-11¹⁷ annas. It was exchanged with £@ ls. 8d. to a rupee.

This coin bears the legend¹⁸ on its obverse شری اکال جیو

(Sri Akal Jio) and on the reverse ہری سنگھ (Hari Singh)

and یک روپیہ (one rupee) in Persian characters.

Moorcroft, who made bulk purchase of shawl-piece goods, made all his transactions¹⁹ mainly in Calcutta *sicca*²⁰ or *sicca* Rupee, which was then the currency of the East India Company in India. Ten or eleven²¹ annas of *sicca* Rupee were equal to one *Hari Singhi Rupaiya*. Its proportional value to *Nanak Shahi Rupaiya* (Zarb-i-Amritsar) was almost equal. The *sicca* rupee

also served as the unit of weight. The weight of eighty sicca rupees was equal to one *seer* (Indian) and 40 *seers* made one *man*. It may be pointed out that the *seer* was called *assar* in Kashmir.²²

Mian Singh, Governor of Kashmir (1835-41) discontinued²³ the existing *Hari Singhi Rupaiya* and in its places a new *Hari Singh-i-Rupaiya* was circulated, the value of which was reduced by about one or two annas. It appears that this step was taken either to boost the exports or to meet the shortage of silver. This action²⁴ benefited the Government but the bankers and traders were put to a great loss. Hereafter it remained the main currency throughout the Sikhs rule. Rents, taxes, and transits duties were paid in this currency.²⁵ However the business of the jewellers was generally conducted²⁶ in *Kabul Rupaiya* till late 1846.

Like other rupees, *Hari Singhi Rupaiya* was divided into 16 annas and the anna into two *tungas* or four paisas. The paisa was further divided into 3 *paees*.²⁷ According to Hugel,²⁸ the *anna* was divided into five *pauos*, the *pauo* twenty *gandas* (almond), the *ganda* four cowaris (shels). The *anna* was the money²⁹ of account and *cowari* was the smallest fraction of coin. Money accounts were kept by hundred of rupees and not by *tomars* (twenties) as in Kabul.³⁰

Kashmir mint where silver and copper coins were minted was a source of a considerable profit³¹ to the state. Till 1837 a customs duty of 13 annas per basket of a thousand rupee coins was charged from the traders carrying cash money to Kashmir. Later, this practice was abolished.³²

But to the villagers, metallic coins were of secondary importance as paddy was the chief medium of transaction³³ till late 19th century. Even the salaries³⁴ were paid in *Jins* (grain) and land revenue too was realised in *Jins* except in certain cases.³⁵

Weights and Measures

The *kharwar* (ass load) was the traditional measure for weighing grains and articles of food and also for measuring land. The *kharwar* was divided into 16 *traks*, the *trak* into 4

manwattas or 6 seers (Kashmiri). The *manwatta* was divided into 2 *neen manwattas* and the *seer* into 4 *pauos*, or *pals*. The weight of the *Pal* was equal to $3\frac{1}{2}$ *Mahmud Shahi Rupaiya* which was slightly less than one tola. The *kharwar* has been reckoned differently in its weight in different periods.³⁶ During the Sikh rule it was equal to 72 *seers* of Ludhiana (Pucca seers) or 96 *seers* of Kashmir. The Mughal rulers introduced in Kashmir the Indian weights, *Mans*, *Seers* and *Pauos*, but these weights receded into background during the Afghan rule. After the expulsion of Afghans from the valley, these weights again came into prominence and the trade with the Punjab came to be conducted in these weights. The local people, however, kept the *kharwar* as their national measure for weighing and measuring land all through the 19th century.

Most of the contemporary writers³⁷ have given slightly different versions of the weights and sub-divisions of Kashmiri weights. It appears that there was no firm standard of weights in Kashmir. Hugel has stated that Kashmiri did not use dry or liquid measures for weighing grain and similar articles or fluids.³⁸ Regarding the absence of any measure for weighing grain, Hugel seems to be right because there was no such measure known to be practised by the people but certainly there were liquid measures in vogue. For instance the vegetable oil was sold by measures known as *Paji*³⁹ and *Paui*,⁴⁰ which were equivalent to 4 *seers* (Indian) and $1\frac{3}{6}$ of *seer* (Indian) respectively. Salt was taxed at the rate of *Yak koni* and a *koni* consisted of 4 *mans*⁴¹. Again *Pasham* shawl's bundle weighing about 6 *traks* or a parcel of shawls consisting of 100 pieces was known as *Bidree*.⁴² A horse load of *Pasham* shawl wool often carried by two porters was reckoned at 22 *traks*.

Short Weights

By local custom and tradition in certain trades there existed short weights. This strange and unjust practice was known as *Bud*.⁴³ By this practice the state was authorised to recover the revenue in grain or in other commodities, according to one standard of weights, and to sell these to the public, according to another standard of weights. For instance, any grant holder

or *jageerdar*⁴⁴ had to lose about more than 5 *seer* out of each *kharwar* of paddy in short weights at the time of the division of shares among the state, the cultivator, the *jageerdar* and the *Dewan*. *Ussal Tools* (Fine Pashmina wool)⁴⁵ was sold by *seers* of 18 *pals* instead of 22 *pals* which resulted in loss of 4 *pals*, to the buyer. The whole-sellers dealing in fish purchased the fish⁴⁶ at the rate of a *trak* of 8 *seers*, but they generally sold the fish at the rate of a *trak* of six *seers*. As in most of the sub-continent false⁴⁷ weights made of stone were also in vogue and people were often cheated. Governor Mian Singh⁴⁸ (1835-41) tried to put an end to these false weights, but he was not successful in rooting out this evil completely.

Land Measures

Land was measured in terms of the amount of seed required for a certain area under rice cultivation.⁴⁹ So, a plot of land requiring one *kharwar* of paddy seeds was known as a *kharwar*⁵⁰ in area. One *kharwar* of area was equal to four British acres or 32 *kanals*. So was the case with *traks* and *manwattas*, which were equal to 2 *kanal*, and 10 *Marlas* respectively. A piece of cultivated land was known as *patta*.⁵¹ During the Mughal rule an area slightly larger than 2½ *pattas* was known as one Kashmiri *Bigha*. But the Sikhs introduced the Punjabi⁵² measures of land such as *Bigha*, *Biswa*, *Ghumau*, *Acre*, *Kanal* and *Marla*. But the indigenous land measures, *kharwar*, *trak* and *Manwatta* continued in use side by side. According to Ganeshi Lal one Kashmiri *Bigha* was equal to four ordinary *Bighas*⁵³ and *kharwar* was the prevailing land measure. But the author of the *Tarikh-i-Kalan*⁵⁴ has mentioned Punjabi land measures along with local land measures. It appears that by the end of the Sikh rule, the Punjabi land measures had either receded into the background or Ganeshi Lal has taken those into account. Floating gardens were sold according to local measures known as *Purani*.⁵⁵

Distance was measured by paces,⁵⁶ double paces, *gaz*, *tenab* and *Karo* or *Kos*. 400 *gaz* (yards) were equal to one *tenab* and 10 *tenabs* were equal to one *Karo*. 1300 double paces when put together made one King *kos*⁵⁷ and 3000 double paces were equal to one *pacca kos*.⁵⁸ The superficial measures were *gaz* (yard),

*danda*⁵⁹ and *begha*. The cloth was measured by *than*,⁶⁰ *gaz* (yard) and *girahs*. Fingers and hands were also used for measuring cloth. One *Girah* was about 2½ inches⁶¹ and one *gaz* (yard) consisted of 16 *girhas*. Like customary short weights there were also short measures for measuring cloth. Pashmina cloth when taken out from the loom was purchased at 20 *girhas* to a *gaz* (yard), instead of 16 *girhas*.⁶² The yarn spun from second rate shawl wool was sold by a short *gaz*, of 12 *girhas* only.

Rice straw was weighed⁶³ in *phulas*⁶⁴, *gaddis* and *Kurus*. A *Kuru* consisted of 2 *gaddis* and a *gaddi* was equal to 6 *phulas*.

The standard counting for paper sheets was *dasta*⁶⁵ of 24 sheets. Dozen and *guras*⁶⁶ were counting units for certain articles. Calculations were made in notation and Arabic⁶⁷ cipher.

REFERENCES

1. Forster, George, *op. cit.* Vol. I, p. 282. Moorcroft, William, *MS. EUR D. 266*, ff. 83, 85 and 86.
Ibid., *Travels*, part III, p. 331. Hugel Baron, Charles Von, *op. cit.*, p. 150.
2. Moorcroft, William, *MS. EUR D. 264*, pp. 31, 66 and 67.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Tarikh-i-Kalan*, *op. cit.*
5. *Administration of Kashmir on transfer to Mr. Gulab Singh* S.C. 28th Jan., 1848, No. 35-41.
6. Lawrence Walter, *op. cit.*, pp. 5 and 387.
7. Thornton Edward, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 366. In regard to copper coins, there was endless diversity. This was due to their varied names, forms, and values.
8. *Ibid.* It was a gold coin of the Afghans, the exchange value of which was about six Nanak Shahi Rupaiya.

9. Willson, A.H., *Glossary of Revenue and Judicial terms*. Munshi Ram, Manohar Lal, Delhi, 1972, p. 447.

Rupaiya, a silver coin, the general denomination of the silver currency of India, and standard measure of value. The coin was first struck by Sher Shah and was adopted by Akbar and his successors. It was of the weight of 175 grains troy, and was considered to be pure, but in the decline of the Mohammadan empire, every petty chief coined his own rupee varying in weight and value though usually bearing the name and titles of the reigning emperor." Likewise *Mohammad Shahi Rupaiya* was an old rupee minted in Kashmir and had the name of Mughal Kings of Delhi. According to Moorcroft thirteen annas of Mohammad Shahi rupee (were equal to one Kashmiri Rupee) (Hari Singhi Rupaiya). Moorcroft, *MS. EUR D. 265*, folio 112. Seventy Mohammad Shahi Rupaiya was reckoned as one Kashmiri seer, Moorcroft, *MS. EUR D. 263*, folio 112. Elsewhere he puts seventy three *Mohammad Shahi Ruyaiya* to a Kashmiri seer.

10. Thornton, Edward, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 366.

Kabul Rupaiya was a silver coin of Afghans. Its exchange value of *Nanak Shahi Rupaiya* or *Sicca Rupee* was about 9 or 10 annas. Hugel puts the value of one Kabul Rupee equal to 1 s. 8 d. in relation to £ in 1835. Vigne puts its value equal to *Hari Singh's Rupaiya* but elsewhere he puts its value equal to 1s. 2d. This shows a difference of 6 d. It appears it was slightly of more value than *Hari Singhi Rupaiya*.

Vigne, *Travels Vol. II*, p. 123.

Mir Izzat Ullah, *Travels*, p. 4. Mir Izzat Ullah puts the Kashmiri rupee equivalent to 9 or 10 annas during the Afghan rule in 1812.

11. Thornton, Edward, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 366. It was a small and thin gold coin worth 1.6 *Nanak Shahi Rupaiya*, *Amritsari* or *Calcutta Sicca*. It was the currency of the Iskardu (Baltistan) Raja.

12. Thornton, Edward, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 366.
13. Griffin, L.H., *The Rajas of Punjab*, p. 466 footnote.
14. Moorcroft, William, *MS. EUR D. 245*, p. 122. "These ingots being of pure silver and brought for the mints, alloyed and coined into Nanak Shahi Rupee." His account is also corroborated by a presence of a coin in the Shri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar. The inscription on its obverse gives the date of minting as 1876 Bikrami (1819) and the name of mint Kashmir (Srinagar). It appears that its face value was less than the *Nanak Shahi Rupaiya* (Amritsari).

Tarikh-i-Hassan, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 759.

It appears that Hassan mistook Nanak Shahi Rupaiya to *Hari Singhi Rupaiya*.

Sufi, G.M.D., *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 462. Sufi also mistook *Nanak Shahi Rupaiya* to *Hari Singhi Rupaiya*.

15. Leech (Major), *op. cit.*

Shamat Ali, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

Tarikh-i-Hassan, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 759.

16. Ganeshi Lal, *op. cit.*, p. 36. "Half the quantity of alloy is mixed with pure silver to coin the Hari Singhi Rupee."

17. Vigne, G.T., *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 74.

"I do not know exactly how long Hari Singh was Governor of Kashmir but he coined the rupee that has since borne his name (of two-thirds) the value of the common Sicca rupee."

Tarikh-i-Hassan, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 759.

18. Leech, R., (Major), *op. cit.*, No. 13-17.

19. Moorcroft, William, *MS. EUR D. 264*, p. 298.

He puts *Hari Singhi Rupaiya* worth 19 annas of Sicca Rupee.

20. Willson, A.H., *op. cit.*, pp. 447-48.

“Until then, in northern India, the Mughal coins were in circulation. But with the decline of the Mughal Empire when these were suppressed in the territories under the jurisdiction of the East India Company and a rupee known *Sicca* Rupee was struck with following inscription on it:

حامی دین محمد سایہ فضل اللہ سکہ زر میر ہفت کشور شاہ عالم بادشاہ

The King Shah Alam the defender of the faith of Mohammad, the shadow of the grace of God, has struck this coin to current through the climes.

On the reverse it bears

جنر مرشد آباد سنہ جلوس نمیت ماتوس

Struck at Murshidabad in 19th year of the auspicious accession. It shows the East India Company did not change the name of the ruler as well as the Persian characters. In 1818 its standard value remained unaffected and it continued to have the same amount of fine silver. In 1833, a slight change was further made and in 1835 it was completely remodelled. Henceforth it came to be known as Company's rupee. Its exchange value with English currency in various years was as under :

1818—one sicca rupee=2 s. 2 d.

1823—one sicca rupee=2 s. 2 d.

1835—one sicca rupee 2 s. $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

But in Kashmir 8 sicca rupees were equal to one £ in 1823.

21. Moorcroft, William, *MS EUR D. 260, India Office Library*, London, pp. 6-7. Eight over five *Hari Singhi Rupaiya* were equal to one *Sicca* Rupee.
22. Vigne, G.T., *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 429, appendix I. One Kashmiri *seer* was equal to $\frac{3}{4}$ *pacca seer*.

Tarikh-i-Kalan, *op. cit.*, f. 119.

Tarikh-i-Hassan, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 277.

23. *Abstract of Intelligence from Kashmir dated 13th Aug. 1836 No. 57-59, National Archives of India.*

“The old coin has been discontinued and a new one circulated. For the sake of a thrifting profit to Government, the bankers have been made to suffer a severe loss. The old rupee was valued 11 annas but it has been reduced to 9 annas old.”

Lawrence, Henry, *op. cit.*, p. 476.

24. *Abstract of Intelligence from Kashmir dated 13th of Aug. 1836 No. 57-59. Ibid.* The Income from Kashmir mint in 1823 was Rs. 12000 but the same was increased to Rs. 70,000 in 1836.

Moorcroft, William, *MS. EUR. D. 264*, pp. 115, 119.
Leech, R., *op. cit.*, No. 13-17.

Tarikh-i-Kalan, op. cit., f. 79: “Silver and copper coins were minted in Srinagar and from this source the state used to get profit of many thousands of rupees.”

25. Moorcroft, William, *MS. EUR D. 264*, p. 29. Transit and custom duties were paid in *Hari Singhi Rupaiya*.
Tarikh-i-Kalan op. cit.

Taylor, R.G., *op. cit.*, No. 35-44.

26. Ganeshi Lal, *op. cit.*, p. 34: “The business of Jewellers was generally conducted in Kabul or Qandhar currency.”

27. Moorcroft, William, *MS. EUR D. 263*, f. 112.

Leech, R., *op. cit.*, 13-17.

Taylor, R., *op. cit.*, No. 35-44.

28. Thornton, Edward, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 366.

29. *Ibid.*, Moorcroft has also referred *Tunga* freely in his diary.

Moorcroft, William, *MS. EUR D. 264*, pp. 41-42.

30. Vigne, G.T., *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 429, appendix No. 1.
31. *Tarikh-i-Kalan*, *op. cit.*, f. 79: Kashmir mint was situated in present Sarafa Mohalla in Zaina Kadal of Srinagar city.
32. *Ibid.*, f. 130.
33. Agha Nasir Ali, *The Revenue Administration in Kashmir* (Ph. D. Thesis), Aligarh Muslim University, pp. 32-33.
34. Lawrence, Walter, *op. cit.*, p. 243.
35. *Tarikh-i-Kalan*, f. 79.
36. Sufi, G.M.D., *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 645.

Kharwar in Akbar's time was equal to three *maunds* and eight *seers*.

Vigne, G.T., *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 429, appendix No. 1. Vigne rates it about 96 Kashmiri *seers* or 72 *seers* of Ludhiana (pacca seer).

Thornton, Edward, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 365. "According to Hugel the *Kharwar* was equal to 197 lbs. 12 ounces."

Ganeshi Lal, *op. cit.*, p. 23. "The rice is so cheap that one *Kharwar* about two and half *maunds* in weight." Perhaps he was speaking about *Kucha* *maunds*.

37. Moorcroft, William, *MS. EUR D. 264*, p. 27.

Ibid., *MS. EUR D. 263*, p. 112.

"3-1/3 Mahmood Shahi Rupees	=1 <i>Pal</i>
22 <i>Pals</i>	=1 <i>Seer</i>
6 <i>Seers</i>	=1 <i>Trak</i>
22 <i>Traks</i>	=1 Horse load"

Ibid., *D. 265*, p. 4.

"3 1/2 Mahmood Shahi Rupees	=1 <i>Pal</i>
20 <i>Pals</i>	=1 <i>Seer</i>
6 <i>Seers</i>	=1 <i>Trak</i>
16 <i>Traks</i>	=1 <i>Kharwar</i> ."

By comparison of these two versions we find a slight difference in weight of *Pal*.

Vigne, G.T., *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 429.

"3 red beads	=1 Dang
3 Dang	=1 Kashreh
4-1/2 Kashreh	=1 Domreh
8 Kashreh	=1 Pal
5-1/2 Pals	=1 Pao (a handful) or <i>Chatang</i>
4 Paus	=1 ser or Assar

The ser differs considerably at Ludhiana and Kashmir.

1-1/2 ser of Kashmir=1 Manwatta

6 ser of Kashmir or 4 Manwatta or 4-1/2 ser of Ludhiana=1 Turak

16 Turak=1 Kirwah

1 Kirwah=96 Ser Kashmir or 72 Ser Ludhiana=144 lbs English."

Thornton, Edward, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 365.

"74 Tola	=1 Pao
6 Pao	=1 Turak
16 Turak	=1 Kurwar 197 lbs. 12 ounces."

Leech, R., *op. cit.*, No. 13-17. The Cashmer seer weigh 72 Hari Singhi Rupees, 6 seers make Trak and 16 Traks make a *Kharwar*.

Ganeshi Lal, *op. cit.*, p. 23

"76 Hari Singhi Rupees	=1 Seer
20 Pals	=1 Ser
10 Pals	=1 Munwati
4 Manwatas	=1 Trak
16 Traks	=1 Kharwar."

38. Thornton, Edward, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 336.
39. Moorcroft, William, *MS. EUR D. 265*, p. 24.
40. *Ibid.*, *Various Trade of Kashmir, op. cit.*, Add. Or. 1675.
41. *Tarikh-i-Kalan*, f. 130
Ibid.
42. Moorcroft, William, *MS. EUR. D. 264*, p. 27.
Ibid., *MS. EUR. D. 264*, p. 69.
43. *Saif-ud-Din's papers* quoted by G.A. Mir in Jammu and Kashmir Biannual No. I, Vol, I, p. 30.
44. Moorcroft, William, *MS. EUR. D. 263*, f. 112. Out of grain worth of Rs. 5000 the grain worth Rs. 260.50 were lost in customary short weights. The loss comes to about 5 *seers* of grain to a *kharwar*.
Ibid., *MS. EUR D. 264*, p. 32, "The weights have been mentioned under the 'articles foreign wool' but the *Ussal Toos* is sold by a *seer* of only 18 *Pal* or 4 *Pal* less than the *seer* by which shawl wool is sold."
45. Lawrence, Walter, *op. cit.*, p. 159, and footnote. *The Valley of Kashmir*. "The retail sellers of fish, however, give six *seers* to a *trak* which is the ordinary *trak* weight."
46. Lawrence, Walter, *op. cit.*, p. 159, and footnote. "The retail sellers of fish, however, give six *seer* to the *trak* which is the ordinary *trak* weight."
47. *Saif-ud-Din's papers, op. cit.*, p. 30.
48. Kachru, Birbal, *op. cit.*, f. 264.
Tarikh-i-Hassan op. cit., Vol. II, p. 530.
49. Ganeshi Lal, *op. cit.*, p. 39.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 39.

Lawrence, Walter, *op. cit.*, p. 243.

1 <i>Manwatta</i>	= 10 <i>marlas</i>
1 <i>Trak</i>	= 2 <i>kanals</i>
1 <i>Kharwar</i>	= 32 <i>Kanals</i> = 4 acres.

51. *Akbarnama*, of Abul-Fazl, translated by H. Beveridge, Delhi, Rare Books, 1973, Vol. III, pp. 330-31. *Patta* was cultivated piece of land and which was equal to one *Bigha* and one *Biswa* according to *Illahi Gaz*.

52. *Tarikh-i-Kalan*, *op. cit.*, f. 132.

53. One *Kacha Bigha* was equal to $5/24$ of an acre.

272 sq. ft. = 1 *marla*

605 sq. yds. = 1 *kanal*

4840 sq. yds. = 1 acre

But according to Hugel one *Bigha* consisted of 900 *Dandas* (rods) and one *Danda* was equal to 4 sq. Gaz. Thornton, Edward, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 365.

54. *Tarikh-i-Kalan*, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

Basham, A.L., *India that was wonder*, London 1954, appendix VIII : p. 509. "One *Danda* was equal to 4 *Hasts*. The *Hasta* consisted of $1\frac{1}{2}$ ft. or 2 *vitastis*.

8 *yava* (Barley corn)—1 *Angula* (fingers breadth) $3/4$ "

12 *Angulas* = 1 *vitasti* 9"

2 *Vitasti* = 1 *Hasta* 13"

4 *Hasta* = 1 *Danda*.

200 *Dandas* = 1 *Khasra* $2\frac{1}{4}$ mile."

55. *Tarikh-i-Kalan*, *op. cit.*, f. 132.

Vigne, G.T., *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 91.

Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh, *op. cit.*, 788 : "A *Purani* being usually 200 feet long by 6 feet broad."

56. Douie, J.M., *Punjab settlement manual*, 4th ed. Lahore, Government Printing Press, 1930, pp. 118-119 : *Kadam* (pace) was the usual unit of measures of length and a square *kadam* the measure of area.

Thornton, Edward, *op. cit.* The measure of length are :

Kro = 10 *Tenab*

Tenab = two *Gaz*. The *Gaz* contain thirty-three inches and consequently the *Kro* is equal to eleven thousand feet or two miles one hundred and fortysix yds.

57. Moorcroft, William, *MS. EUR. C. 42*. India Office Library, London, p. 40. Kings kos has been referred of 1300 double paces.
58. *Ibid.*, p. 40 (*Pucca Kos* of 3000 double paces).
59. According to Hugel the *Landa* was equal to 4 square gaz but according to Basham it was equal [to 6 ft. It appears that at different places and at different times it was measured differently.
60. *Tarikh-i-Kalan op. cit.*, ff. 110, 126 and 127.
Then consists of 24 gaz was measured differently.
61. Lawrence, Walter, *op. cit.*, p. 243.
62. Lawrence, Walter, *op. cit.* p. 243.
63. Moorcroft, William, *MS. EUR D. 264*, p. 41.
"The yarn from *Phiree* or second wool sold only by measure but in a gaz, employed consists of no more than twelve *girahs* or nails that is of four *girah* less than the gaz in ordinary use.
64. *Various Trades in Kashmir, op. cit.*, Add. Or. 1741.
Lawrence, Walter, *op. cit.*, p. 243.
65. *Tarikh-i-Kalan op. cit.*, f. 128.
66. *Ibid.*, f. 130.
67. Thornton, Edward, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 365.

Appendix I

MS EUR D, p. 265

(Workers, artists and other professional engaged in the process of shawl productions)

Shawl manufacturers	Shops		Indirect
	No. of Workers		
1. Bakal-i-Tibet	Tibet merchant	100	
2. Pasham Shal furosh	Shawl wool sellers From 50 to 100. Spinners	75	100,000
3. Pheml Kater			
4. Pooemangoo			
or			
Tar furosh	Yarn sellers	100	
5. Rungrez	Dyers	120	
6. Alakabund	Silk salonga		
or			
Kanare baf	Border makers	36	
7. Tabgar	Silk warp makers	40	
8. Nakatoo	Warp makers	60	
9. Pennakam Gooroo	Warp dressers	60	

Shawl manufacturers	Shops		Indirect
	No. of Workers		
10. Berramgooroo	Warp threaders	100	
11. Shalbaf	Shawl weavers	24,000	
12. Oastad shawal-baf	80 ,, Teachers	550	
13. Nuqqash shalbaf	Shawl pattern drawers	30	
14. Tarahgooroo	Colour callers	100	
15. Taleemgooroo	Pattern masters	20	
16. Pooroosgar	Shawl cleaners	30	
17. Wafarosh	Brokers	30	
18. Mookkeem	Commission brokers	15	
19. Ruffoogar	Fine dranners	2,000	
20. Dhobee	Washermen	20	
	Total		1,27,476

Appendix II

An account of Shawl-Goods produced in Kashmir during the reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh Compiled from Moorcroft MSS. E. 113 and D. 264.

Trade Name (1)	Remarks (2)	Manufacturer's Price (3)	Markets (4)
Do-Shāla (or shawls in pairs) Pattū pashmina	Sometimes made of <i>asli tūs</i> , but more often of the coarser kinds of shawl wool. Length 4 gaz, breadth $1\frac{1}{2}$ gaz. This is thick and is used as a blanket or for outer clothing	From 5 to 6 rupees per gaz	Kashmir, Afghanistan
Shāla phiri	As its name denotes, it is made of <i>phiri</i> or seconds wool. Length from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 gaz, breadth $1\frac{1}{2}$ gaz	From 20 to 30 rupees per piece	Kashmir
Hulwān	Plain white cloth of fine shawl-wool without flower border or other ornament, differs in length but is 12 <i>girahs</i> in breadth and is used for turbans and for dyeing	From 3 to 6 rupees per gaz	Kashmir, Hindustan, Persia, Afghanistan, etc.

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
<i>Jauhar shāla sada</i>	A shawl with a narrow edging of coloured yarn. From $3\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{3}{4}$ gaz in length, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ in breadth	From 50 to 60 rupees per piece	Kashmir, Hindustan, etc.
<i>Shāla hāshiyadār</i>	Edged by a single border. $3\frac{1}{2}$ gaz in length, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ in breadth	From 60 to 70 rupees per piece	Kashmir, Hindustan, etc.
<i>Shāla do-hāshiyadār</i>	With a double border. Same measurements	From 40 or 60 to 70 rupees per piece	Kashmir, Hindustan, etc.
<i>Shāla chahār hāshiyadār</i>	With four borders. Same measurements	From 60 70 rupees per piece	Kashmir Hindustan, etc.
<i>Hāshiyadār khosar</i> or <i>Khalil khāni</i>	With two borders and two tunga, sometimes with, at others without, a flower in the corners. Same measurements	From 40 to 50 rupees per piece	Afghanistan
<i>Hāshiyadār kunguradār</i>	This has a border of unusual form with another within side, or nearer to the middle, resembling the crest of the Wall of Asiatic forts furnished with narrow niches or embrasures for Wall pieces, or Matchlocks, whence its name. Same measurements	From 100 to 150 rupees a pair	Hindustan, etc.

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
<i>Daurdār</i>	With an ornament running all round the shawl between the border and the field. Same measurements	From 100 to 2,300 rupees a pair	Hindustan, Russia
<i>Matandār</i>	With flowers or decorations in the middle of the field. Same measurements	From 300 to 1,800 rupees a pair	Hindustan, Turkey
<i>Chand-dār</i>	With a circular ornament or moon in the centre of the field. Same measurements	From 500 to 2,500 rupees a pair	Hindustan, Turkey, etc.
<i>Chauthidār</i>	With four half-moons. Same measurements	From 300 to 1,500 rupees a pair	Hindustan
<i>Kunjbūtedār</i>	With a group of flowers at each corner. Same measurements	From 200 to 900 rupees a pair	Hindustan, Afghanistan, Persia
<i>Alifdār</i>	With green springs without any other colour on a white ground. Same measurements	From 120 to 150 rupees a pair	Hindustan, but more especially Peerzadas [sic]

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
<i>Kuddhar</i>	With large groups of flowers somewhat in the form of the cone of a pine with the ends or points straight or curved downwards. Same measurements	—	—
<i>Do-kuddhar</i>	With two rows of such groups. Same measurements	From 100 to 800 rupees a pair	Hindustan
<i>Se-kuddhar</i>	With three rows of the same	From 100 to 800 rupees a pair	Hindustan
<i>Chahar-kuddhar</i>	With four rows of the same	From 200 to 600 rupees a pair	Hindustan
<i>Jāmawārs</i> (or gown-pieces)	Sold in lengths of $3\frac{3}{4}$ gaz by $1\frac{1}{2}$ gaz		
<i>Khukhabutha</i> (<i>Kokā-būtā</i> ?)	Large compound flowers, consisting of groups of smaller ones	From 300 to 1,500 rupees per piece	Used by the Persians and Afghans
<i>Rezabūtā</i>	Small flowers thickly set	From 200 to 700 rupees per piece	Kashmir, Hindustan, Afghanistan

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
<i>Jāl-dār</i>	Net-work	From 500 to 1,700 rupees per piece	Persia, Turkey, Turkistan, Afghanistan
<i>Islimi</i>	—	From 250 to 4000 rupees per per piece	Kashmir, Turkistan, To Persia for saddlecloths, curtains, and women's use
<i>Maramat</i>	—	From 150 to 300 rupees per piece	Kashmir, Afghanistan, Persia
<i>Khutherast</i> (<i>Khatārāst</i> ?)	—	From 150 to 750 rupees a piece	Kashmir, Persia, Afghanistan, Turkistan
<i>Marpīh</i>	—	From 200 to 350 rupees a piece	Kashmir, Persia, Afghanistan, Turkistan

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
<i>Qalam-kār</i>	—	From 300 to 1,000 rupees a piece	Bokhara, Russia, Constantinople (but not large)
<i>Tāk-i-angūr</i>	—	From 300 to 500 rupees a piece	Deccan, few to Turkistan
<i>Chap-o-rast</i>	—	From 300 to 700 rupees a piece	Afghanistan, Persia, Baghdad
<i>Do-gul</i>	—	From 500 to 1,000 rupees a piece	Persia, Constantinople, Baghdad
<i>Burghabad</i>	—	From 250 to 400 rupees a piece	Kashmir, a little in Hindustan, much in Persia and Afghanistan

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
<i>Gulasaut</i>	—	From 200 to 900 rupees a piece	Afghanistan, Persia
<i>Dawāzda-khat</i>	—	From 200 to 900 rupees a piece	Turkistan, Turkey, Persia
<i>Dawāzda-rang</i>	—	From 800 to 1,400 rupees a piece	Turkey
<i>Goole parwane</i> (<i>Gul-o-parvāna</i> ?)	—	From 300 to 450 rupees a piece	Yarkand
<i>Kaychamoo</i> (<i>Ka'i-amau'a</i> ?) <i>sabz-kār</i> <i>safid</i>	These are made by the shawl-weaver alone and go largely into Hindustan where they are dyed, the small green flowers being previously tied up in hard small knots so as to be protected from the action of the dye, and are of course when untied each surrounded by a small white field. Small eyes of spots of yellow, red and of other colours are supported to harmonize with the green flowers and the new ground, and these are added by embroiderers or <i>chikān-doz</i>	From 120 to 130 rupees a piece	—

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
<i>Qasaba or Rūmāl</i> (woman's veil or square shawl)	1½ to 2½ gaz square	—	—
<i>Khat-dār</i>	—	From 300 to 500 rupees a piece	Hindustan
<i>Māramat</i>	—	From 150 to 300 rupees a piece	Afghanistan, Persia, Turkey
<i>Islimi</i> (with 13 other <i>Jāmawār</i> patterns)	—	From 150 to 300 rupees a piece	Afghanistan, Turkey, Persia, Turkistan
<i>Chahār-bāgh</i>	—	From 300 to 350 rupees a piece	Turkey, Russia, a few to Hindustan
<i>Do-hāshiya</i>	—	From 100 to 175 rupees a piece	Hindustan, a few to Persia

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
<i>Chand-dār</i>	—	From 50 to 200 rupees a piece	Kashmir, Afghanistan, Turkistan, few to Persia
<i>Chouthidār</i>	—	From 150 to 400 rupees	Persia, Hindustan, Turkey, Baghdad, Turkistan
<i>Shash chouthidār</i>	—	From 250 to 500 rupees	Persia, Hindustan, few to Turkey
<i>Farangi</i>	—	From 100 to 500 rupees	Exported chiefly to Russia
<i>Tarah-armani</i>	—	From 100 to 250 rupees a piece	Exported chiefly to Armenia. also Turkey
<i>Tarah-rūmāl</i>	—	From 120 to 200 rupees	Exported chiefly to Turkey, a few to Turkistan

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
<i>Sāda</i> (plain)	—	From 12 to 15 rupees	Kashmir for domestic use)
<i>Shamlas</i> (Girdles for the waist, worn by Asiatics)	These are 8 <i>gaz</i> in length and 1½ <i>gaz</i> broad, and of various colours and patterns. They vary from 50 to 2,000 rupees in price according to the richness of their work		
<i>Sāda</i> (plain)	—	From 50 to 70 rupees a piece	Kashmir, Kabul, Afghanistan, a few to Turkistan
<i>Hāshiyā-dār</i>	—	From 70 to 200 rupees a piece	Kashmir, Kabul, Afghanistan, a few to Turkistan
<i>Phalā-dār</i>	With two <i>phalās</i> and two <i>hāshiyas</i> (see Glossary). Grounds of different kinds, as with flowers, lines, sprigs, etc.—viz :		
<i>Matanbāgh</i>	All flowers	From 500 to 2,000 rupees a piece	Persia

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
<i>Lahri-dar</i>	Waved like water	From 300 to 1,000 rupees a piece	Persia, Turkey, Baghdad
<i>Khāncha-dār</i>	In trays or plates	From 1000 to 1,700 rupees a piece	Persia, Turkistan, Turkey, a few to Afghanistan
<i>Māramat</i>	Snaky	From 200 to 1,300 rupees a piece	Persia, a few to Turkey
<i>Rāh-dār</i>	Running between parallel lines	From 300 to 800 rupees a piece	Afghanistan, a few to Turkistan and India
<i>Do-shāla se phalā-dār</i> (shawls with three heads)	This variety contains three <i>phalās</i> instead of two and goes only to Tibet	From 100 to 150 rupees a piece	—
<i>Gospech</i> or <i>Patkā</i> , or <i>Turbans</i>	Length from 8 to 10 gaz, breadth 1gaz, and of all colours. One variety has two <i>phalās</i> , two <i>Zanjirs</i> , and two <i>hāshiyas</i> . Another variety, <i>Mandila</i> , sometimes has a <i>Zanjir</i> and sometimes not. This is from 8 to 10 gaz in length and about 12 <i>girhas</i> in breadth	From 150 to 800 rupees From 45 to 70 rupees	— —

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
<i>Khalin pashmina</i> (shawl carpets)	These are sold per square gaz and are made of any size in a single piece	From 20 to 40 rupees per square gaz	—
<i>Naqsh or Trousers</i>	Some are with, others without seams. The former are made of two pieces which are sewn together by the <i>rafūgur</i> , the latter by the <i>jarrāb-doz</i> or stocking-maker	From 200 to 500 rupees a pair	—
<i>Chahārkhāna or</i> <i>Netted Cloth</i>	Used by women. Length indefinite, breadth from 14 <i>girahs</i>	From 5 to 10 rupees a piece	Persia, Hindustan, a few to Afghanistan, and a few in Kashmir
<i>Gul-badan</i>	Length indefinite, breadth from 14 <i>girhas</i> to 1 gaz	From 5 to 6 rupees a gaz	Persia, Afghanistan, New Shah Jahan
<i>Lungi or Girdles</i>	These differ from <i>shamlas</i> by being in narrow check and bordered by lines of different colours. L. $3\frac{1}{2}$ gaz, W. $1\frac{1}{2}$ gaz	From 50 to 75 rupees a piece	Kashmir, Persia
<i>Takhin or Caps</i>	—	From 8 annas to 4 rupees	Kashmir, few to Kabul and Hindustan

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
<i>Jarrāb or Short Stockings</i>	Flowered and striped in the <i>guldār</i> and <i>māramat</i> styles	From 1 to 5 rupees	Kashmir, Hindustan, Kabul, Persia, few to Turkey
<i>Moza Pashmina or Long Stockings</i>	—	From 5 to 25 rupees a piece	Hindustan, Persia, Turkey, Turkistan, Russia
<i>Sakkabposh (Sāqibposh ?)</i>	—	From 300 to 1,500 rupees	Persia, Turkey, Arabia
<i>Darparda or Curtains (for doors or windows)</i>	—	The price the same as Jamawar, sold according to measure	Persia, Turkey, Arabia, Russia
<i>Kajjari asp or Saddle-cloth</i>	—	The price the same as Jamawar, sold according to measure	Persia

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
<i>Kajjari fil or Elephant's housing</i>	—	The price the the same as Jamawar, sold, according to measure	Hindustan
<i>Bālāposh or Palangposh (quilts or coverlets)</i>	—	From 300 to 1,000 rupees	Turkistan, Persia, Turkey, Russia, a few to Afghanistan Hindustan
<i>Galāband or Cravat</i>	—	From 12 to 300 rupees	Kashmir, Afghanistan, Persia, Hindustan
<i>Pistānband or Neckerchief</i>	—	From 5 to 15 rupees	Persia, Afghanistan, a few to Turkistan Persia
<i>Langota or Waist Belts</i>	—	From 15 to 30 rupees	Persia, Afghanistan, a few to Turkistan Persia
<i>Postin (cloths left long in the Nap to line pelisses)</i>	—	From 500 to 1,000 rupees	Persia, Afghanistan, a few to Turkistan Persia

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
<i>Pāipech or Leggings</i>	Length 2 gaz, breadth 1 girah, Of all colours	From 2 to 10 rupees	Kabul, Kandahar, Turkistan, Turkey, Persia
<i>Izārband or Waist Strings</i>	—	From 1 to 15 rupees each	Persia, Afghanistan
<i>Takins or Pillow-bier</i>	—	The price the same as Jamawar	Persia, Russia, Turkey, Arabia, Hindustan
<i>Khalita</i> (bags or purses)	—	From 8 annas to 2 rupees	Kashmir, Kabul
<i>Qabr-posh or Shrouds</i> (for tombs)	—	The price the same as Jamawar	Persia, Arabia, Turkistan
<i>Tāqposh</i> (covers or hangings for recesses, cupboards, etc.)	—	The price the same as Jamawar	Persia

Appendix III

*Moorcroft's proposals for the emigration of Kashmiri weavers, spinners and pattern-drawers and their settlement in Britain.*¹

1. Excerpt from a letter from Moorcroft to Mr. C.T. Metcalfe, the East India Company's Resident at Delhi, written at Amritsar, 21st May, 1820 (MSS. Eur. F. 38) ff. 29-33.

'...I beg to submit to you in relation to the growing importance of the Shawl Trade in Britain and the obvious advantage of obtaining an early superiority in the manufacture of the article, from the process of picking and cleaning the raw material to that of packing shawls in Bales, which in Britain is ill-conducted, it would not be prudent to invite as many Kashmeerees to proceed to Britain as would be able to go through all the processes employed in this manufacture. The argument of the expense of this measure can only be estimated by a comparison of the merits of Kashmeeree and of English artists, a point not yet wholly adjusted, but the absolute expense will not be great considering the present low wages of the spinners and weavers.

The English borrowed the art of printing Chintz from the artists of this country and now surpass their teachers, and a similar event may reasonable be expected in regard to shawls, if the British manufacturers be sufficiently attentive to their real interests, and not suffer immediate profits by cheapness, to delude them from possessing a paramount and permanent command of the market by superiority of manufacture.

Through a complete set of Kashmeeree Shawl Artists the English manufacturers will *per saltum* seize the advantages of

1. Proposals for the emigration of Kashmiri weavers and their settlement under French patronage on the island of Madagascar had been published in 1792 by the Abbe' Rochon (*Voyage to Madagascar*), but Moorcroft was apparently unaware of this.

the science and manipulation the experience of centuries has supplied to that branch of manufacture, which, through local circumstances, has been favoured and fostered into a most profitable and most extensive trade, supporting many thousands of individuals, and for rivalry in which several European Nations are now contending. When the English Manufacturers shall have gained the whole Mystery of those Artists who are now confessedly the best performers, let them engraft their own improvements, but let them now start with all "appliances and means to boot".

English pride of science may be startled at the supposition that any Oriental Workman can excel English Artisans in manufacturing articles on which English industry has long employed its powers, but such presumption arrests the progress of art, and candour must acknowledge superiority in the material, fabric and temper of some of the Sword blades and Gun barrels of the East : I propose to bring on my return some Gun barrels from Lahore for inspection by British Gunsmiths and which cannot fail to astonish them by their beauty.

Luminously satisfactory and abundant as in latter years have been the reasonings and deductions on colours and on mordants and expeditious and cheap, the modes of extracting and applying colouring matters, it will perhaps be found that industry and long practice, stimulated by the desire of gain, have attained a progress in the art of dyeing woollens *permanently* in Kashmeer, that may not yield in general result, to the lucubrations and discoveries affected by experimental philosophy applied to the same object in Europe.

I must request the favour of your obtaining the sentiments of Mr. Reding on the matter of inviting some Kashmeerees to emigrate, and if they be favourable, that you will bring it under the notice of the Government, as expeditiously as possible, in any shape you may think fit.

Amongst the many thousands of individuals employed in the Shawl trade in Kashmeer, it would probably be no difficult task to induce two or three families in a noiseless way to leave that country, but I submit to you that it would be more

proper, as an affair in which the Government take an interest, to ask Runjeet Singh to allow me to do this publicly, in passing through Kashmeer.

A belief that the water of Kashmeer is essential to produce good shawls, and that such is not to be met with elsewhere, will prevent apprehensions of rivalry. If this measure be determined upon a letter under cover to Khooshwant Rau, the newswriter, directing him to forward it to me by Qasid, will reach me. And in such event I must further beg that you will cause it to be accompanied by a letter of Credit or Bill for two thousand rupees to be employed by me in relieving the pecuniary embarrassments of some families in distress, for such will be the fittest subjects for experiment, and for furnishing way expenses.

Pattern drawers will of course be included in the detail of Artists from possessing the peculiar patterns of Kashmeer, which for a time may be preferred in Europe to those of that country.

There is nothing novel in such transplantation of artists. Louis XV procured Workmen in Muslins from India, but through the negligence of his Ministers many of them perished through want. And Catherine II invited great numbers of Artists in the Silk Trade, from Lyons, who had formed a Manufactory of Brocades, that now supplies most of the north-western parts of Asia with this 'Article'.

2. Excerpt from Moorcroft's notes written in Kashmir, 4th February, 1823 (MSS. Eur. D. 264, pp. 43-4) :

'It might border on extravagance to advocate the employment of the labour of the hand on an occupation advantageously superseded by machinery of the most efficient description for preparing thread suited for most fabrics of cloth. But if it be a fact as reported that machinery cannot furnish your yarn as well adapted for the manufacture of Shawls as that spun by hand in Kashmeer nothing would be more easy than to induce a few Kashmeeree families to proceed to Britain on very light terms of remuneration. Whether the introduction of the mode of spinning yarn for shawl-cloth would afford much occupation to weakly and indigent females in Britain is

competently to be appreciated by individuals now in that country, but on such a presumption the art might be readily diffused. An unsuccessful experiment was made many years ago at the suggestion, it is believed, of Dupleix or of Le Comte de Lally to import fabrics of India, for the purpose of establishing a manufacture of Muslins in France. Emigrants suffered much from the climate, and after having experienced in Paris a reception and treatment not exactly corresponding to that they were thought to expect they were furnished with an Asylum in one of the Grecian islands where drawings of the occupations were taken by the late Mr. Tresham and are presumed to be in the possession of the Right Hon. Lord Cawdor. Nothing in the climate of Britain is likely to prove unfriendly to the constitution of Kashmeerees, for at this moment in Kashmeer (Feb. 4th) the thermometer out of doors stands at twenty-four degrees.'

Appendix IV

MS EUR D 264, pp. 115-119

Seven years only have elapsed since the famine occurred of which the pressure was so severe that mother actually destroyed and ate their own children.

The spinners, shawl weavers and farming population have been cited as instances of oppression in the foot but other classes escape not the plundering hand of tyranny and in proof, the following list of residents and of other living in the city of Kashmir with the direct taxes to which they are subject may be not without interest viz.,

1. *Bukhale-Tibet*

Tibet merchants of whom the merchandise pays at the custom house the yearly sum of	Rs. 80,000
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2. *Bukhal*

or retailer of tea, sugar, salt, oil ghee— the whole trade per day	Rs. 80
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3. *Rungrez*

or dyers, the whole trade per day	Rs. 15
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4. *Shawl-baf*

or shawl weaver, the whole in stamp duties or these goods in the year	Rs. 9,00,000
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5. *Tar Furosh*

yarn seller, the whole trade per month	Rs. 40
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6. *Tazgar*

(Silk warp maker) each shop per month	Rs. 40
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7. *Julsaz*

Blankets or coarse cloth and sack makers from the coarse hair of the shawl wool, the whole trade per year	Rs. 300
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8.	<i>Chikundoz</i> or embroiderer of cloth, the whole trade per year	Rs.	40
9.	<i>Alakabund</i> or Silk warp border maker, the whole trade per month	Rs.	40
10.	<i>Dhobee</i> or washerman, the whole trade per year	Rs.	1,500
11.	<i>Subzee Furosh</i> Green seller	Rs.	700
12.	<i>Najjar</i> Carpenter, wood turner, <i>gilkar</i> , grave digger and <i>tuberdar</i> or earth, or pile wall builder altogether combine to make up the yearly sum of	Rs.	5,000
13.	<i>Chuve-Furosh</i> (a) Fuel seller, the whole trade per year	Rs.	12,000
14.	(b) Plank seller, the whole trade per year	Rs.	500
15.	(c) Rough timber seller, the whole trade per year	Rs.	500
16.	<i>Ytar</i> or Druggist, distiller of rose water, the whole trade per month	Rs.	500
17.	<i>Ahungur</i> or Blacksmith per shop per month	Rs.	40
18.	<i>Zergur</i> Gold and silver smith, the whole trade per month	Rs.	200
19.	<i>Zerrub Khanch</i> or Coiners of copper money, the whole trade per year	Rs.	40

20.	<i>Seeraj</i> or Saddler, the whole trade per year	Rs.	40
21.	<i>Mochee</i> or Shoe-maker, the whole trade per year	Rs.	40
22.	<i>Jabkh</i> Currier of goat, skin and of sheep skin, the curring of cow hide being now inter- dicted, the whole trade per year	Rs.	2,000
23.	<i>Kufaz Saz</i> or slipper maker, whole the trade per month	Rs.	40
24.	<i>Kaghuz Saz</i> or Paper maker, the whole trade per month	Rs.	250
25.	<i>Zewur</i> or Bangle or armlet maker, the whole trade per month	Rs.	40
26.	<i>Beezaz</i> or Cloth seller, the whole trade per month	Rs.	60
27.	<i>Bafundeh</i> Common weavers, the whole trade per year	Rs.	500
28.	<i>Booreea baf</i> Mat weaver, the whole trade per year	Rs.	500
29.	<i>Hurkuras</i> The whole class per year	Rs.	5,000
30.	<i>Kufas Saz</i> Bird cage maker, the whole trade per year	Rs.	12
31.	<i>Ahnjee</i> or Boatmen on canals, the whole class per year	Rs.	12,000
32.	<i>Singhara Furosh</i> Water nuts seller, the whole trade per year	Rs.	500

33. *Kybilaha*

Mid-wife, the whole profession per year	Rs.	200
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34. *Gujjree*

Cow-keeper and milk seller, the whole trade per year	Rs.	12,000
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35. *Subzee Furosh-Khanee Dull*

Proprietors of floating garden on the lake and village vegetables seller per year	Rs.	4,000
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36. *Punseree*

Tobacco seller, the whole trade per year	Rs.	2,000
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37. *Mewa Furosh*

Fruit seller, the whole trade per year	Rs.	5,000
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38. *Maheegeer*

Fishermen, the whole trade per year	Rs.	5,000
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39. *Barootsaz*

Gunpowder maker, the whole trade per year	Rs.	300
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40. *Koolal*

Potters, the whole trade per year	Rs.	200
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41. *Cheentsaz*

Calico printer, the whole trade per year	Rs.	300
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42. *Nuechabund*

Hooqqa pipe maker, the whole trade per year	Rs.	60
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43. *Choona Bhur*

Lime burner, the whole trade per year and they laso work particularly for the forts	Rs.	5 0
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44. *Sakhee*

Distiller of spirit, the whole trade per year	Rs.	500
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45. *Telee*

Oil pressure, the whole trade per year	Rs.	500
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46.	<i>Nadaf</i> Cotton cleaner with bow, the whole trade per year	Rs.	30
47.	<i>Kussab</i> or Butcher of sheep and of goats. Pigs being held uncleaned, unfit for the food of man by Mahommedans and meat cattle being interdicted by the Sikhs or by the laws of Nanuk, the whole trade per year	Rs.	2,500
48.	<i>Kubabee</i> Cook, the whole trade per year	Rs.	5,000
49.	<i>Nanbaee</i> Baker, the whole trade per year	Rs.	8,000
50.	<i>Pozgur</i> Bhung shops for preparing Bhung and other intoxicating articles, the whole trade per year	Rs.	300
51.	<i>Iekaband</i> Plume maker, the whole trade per year	Rs.	40
52.	<i>Damgah</i> Falconers, holding royal grants of land and in commutation for furnishing the trained falcons, the whole class per year	Rs.	14,000
53.	<i>Tanekha</i> Grass collectors, holding land in commuta- tion for not furnishing grass, the whole class per year	Rs.	20,000
54.	<i>Nuqqkash</i> or pattern drawers, the whole trade for the year	Rs.	400
55.	<i>Meenjee</i> Singer, male, female and eunch, the whole class per year	Rs.	500

56. *Kazee*

Who acts as conveyancer receiving 6.2 per cent ad valorem, the whole class per year Rs. 25,000

57. *Hulalkhor*

Scavengers, the whole trade for the year Rs. 700

58. *Birishtgur*

Grain sellers, the whole trade per year Rs. 100

59. *Darzee*—Trailor, *Teerger*—Arrowmaker, *Hujjam*—Barber, *Wufurosh*—Broker, *Nakatoo*—Warp meker, *Mokeem*—Commission Broker, *Beramgooroo*—Warp threader, *Shakhsaz*—Basket maker, *Bootasaz*—Emboider, *Talimggooroo*—Pattern master, *Poorooz-Gooroo*—Shawl Cleaner, *Pennakam Gooroo*—Warp dresser, *Sarajshasher*—Royal saddle maker, Land measurers, *Bazdar*—Falconers, *Nalband*—Horse shoe-maker, *Tape* makers, *Tabees*—Doctors (Hakeem), Drummers, *Jurab Baf*—Maker of stockings, *Tofungsaz*—Gunsmith and *Musalchee*—Lampmen, pay nothing but their services are generally available to state whenever required.

60. *Kunchanee*

or Woman of the town, this whole class per year

Rs. 5,000

61. *Kotwal Adaluttee*

per year

Rs. 30,000

Many trades are omitted in the list and the above particulars are collected not with the view of showing the revenue derivable from these sources but the heaviness with which

taxation in one form or another presses upon every class of the population. It is difficult to find upon what principle some branches of the shawl manufacturers are so highly taxed whilst others are wholly exempted but some classes of these workmen who are nominally free from taxation are really most grievously burdened through being obliged to work for Govt. or for the Farmer General Kashmir either without pay or altogether or for one much below the value of their services.

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